LUCUBRATIONS

OF AN

HEIR APPARENT.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

BRITISH NATION,

THE

FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE

RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED.

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RESPECTFULLY

TO THE

BRITISH NATION

LUCUBRATIONS, &c.

LUCUBRATION I.

FEW are the hours, which a Prince in my circumſtances, and at my ſeaſon of life, can ſeriouſly call his own, but in thoſe that I am able to ſnatch from the ſcenes of diſſipation, which environ and tempt me on every ſide, I find a ſatisfaction the more acceptable, as it induces me to believe, that my heart is not of a make to be eaſily corrupted, nor my mind of a texture to receive unreluctantly, or long to cheriſh erroneous impreſſions.

It is in theſe moments of ſecluſion from hurry, adulation, vanity, and ſelf complaiſance, that I feel how much it is incumbent on me, to turn my attention to the duties impoſed upon me by my birth and deſtination.

Happily, the education I have received has been ſuitable to my calling; but the experience of every hour brings me freſh conviction, how earneſtly I ought to embrace every opportunity of further improvement, and to prepare betimes for the important and arduous futurity that awaits me.

With great truth it has been aſſerted, that no man is completely qualified to ſit upon a throne who has not previouſly been a member of the Republic of Letters. It is only in a freedom of ſociety and communication with the enlightened and intelligent part of mankind, without diſtinction of rank or circumſtances, that the human underſtanding can be properly cultivated. This, therefore, is the propereſt ſchool for the formation of a Monarch. It is here he will beſt learn how to fill his ſtation with ſatisfaction to himſelf, and benefit to others.

Literature is a commonwealth where no rights are acknowledged but thoſe of merit and humanity. It brings men together upon thoſe terms that do them moſt honour; no claims are allowed to admiration or precedence, but ſuch as ariſe from intellectual or moral eminence. Happy the Prince who cultivates ſo reſpectable a ſociety: he will there be taught the ineſtimable advantages of learned and elegant intercourſe, and to value none but rational enjoyments. This is the firſt ſtep towards a

manly character, and is for that reaſon the firſt leſſon to be inculcated in one that is born to be an example to others.

It was by the cultivation of Letters the great Frederic of Pruſſia obtained the beſt half of his reputation, and placed himſelf on a level with the moſt illuſtrious names; the illumination of his mind he counted the ſupremeſt of his honours and felicities.

No truth is more evident, than that of all men Monarchs require moſt a liberal education, and an extenſive acquaintance with perſons of knowledge and information; but unhappily for mankind, it is no leſs true, that hardly any individuals are more unqualified for their ſtations than the generality of Sovereigns.

Nothing has more excited my ſurprize than the number of Princes whom hiſtory repreſents as ignorant and illiterate. Such a deficiency in Sovereigns muſt neceſſarily be attended with conſequences equally ignominious to themſelves, and pernicious to the public; it expoſes them to the contempt and deriſion of their ſubjects at large; it ſinks them below the company they ought or muſt be ſuppoſed to keep; it reduces them to the level of their menial attendants. Whatever adulation or intereſtedneſs may ſuggeſt, all the glare

of royalty cannot conceal how much ignorance degrades and unfits them for the place which they hold in ſociety.

LUCUBRATION II.

THE ſeverity of cenſure, from which no perſon in this country, however exalted, is exempt, who is habitually guilty of improprieties in his manner of diſcourſing, has taught me that among thoſe accompliſhments which are eſſential in a Prince, dignity of ſpeech is one of the moſt indiſpenſible.

To ſay nothing of the pleaſure of conveying one's thoughts with eaſe and perſpicuity, which is common to all men, it fills a Prince with that degree of confidence and reſolution, which flows from the conſcioufneſs of a proper delivery, and is at the ſame time one of the moſt eſſential ſafeguards of his ſtation. There is nothing that ſtamps ſo firmly the idea of rank and authority, and that more ſtrongly enforces the right of ſuperiority and command.

Without this qualification, individuals in elevated ſituations, loſe that perſonal influence which may be juſtly ſtiled the main ſtaff of authority. Power unſupported by this neceſſary ſanction, acts,

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as it were, without producing its commiſſion, and inſtead of reſpect, excites repugnance and diſguſt. Unleſs obedience is accompanied with internal deference to him we obey, fear, or ſelf intereſt, are the motives of our ſubmiſſion; and they are both too mean and ſervile to ſatisfy a liberal mind. I ſhould deſpiſe the man who adhered to me, or complied with my requeſts, from no other motives.

As the foundation of true dignity in diſcourſe, is affability, to want this is the moſt eſſential defect in the art of converſing. Far, however, be from me that indiſcriminate effuſion of thought, which tends only to familiarize us to others without gaining their attachment.

Bolinbroke has told us with that energy which characteriſes his writings, that Lewis the fourteenth of France was the greateſt actor of Majeſty that ever filled a throne. This praiſe he owed, it ſeems, to the exquiſite propriety, with which he was wont to addreſs all individuals, according to the rank and character each of them held in ſociety. It was by this that he often made himſelf acceptable to thoſe, who could not in other reſpects approve of his government and maxims. What powers in his converſation and manners muſt that monarch have poſſeſt, when his very enemies could complain, that by his engaging deportment

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and diſcourſe, he could obliterate the beſt founded reſentments!

Next to the glory of acting well, is that therefore of ſpeaking well.

But to write well, is alſo a praiſe which has been peculiarly coveted by thoſe whom we eſteem the greateſt Princes. The moſt illuſtrious among the Romans were no leſs proud of excelling in learning and literature, than in the arts of war and government; and certainly thoſe who governed that commonwealth, during the triumphant periods of its hiſtory, were every way deſerving the appellation of kings.

The ſame may be ſaid of the Greeks. Their nobleſt writers were the principal perſons in the various republics of that celebrated country.

With ſuch conſpicuous examples before them, it is ſurpriſing that more Princes have not been ambitious of ſhining in the province of letters.

The zeal which I naturally feel for the honour of my native country, makes me ſincerely lament, that ſo few of its Sovereigns have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any marked predilection for the Muſes. In the conſiderable number of Princes that have worn the crown of England, three only deſerve particular commemoration on this account, Alfred of immortal fame, Henry the Eighth, and James the Firſt. The firſt of theſe cultivated

literature

literature like a King; and in this, as in every part of his conduct, remains the nobleſt monument of an unpoliſhed and barbarous age; which his virtues and talents irradiated with a ſplendour that is not yet extinguiſhed. Let me revere him as the founder, or at leaſt the renovator and improver of that Conſtitution which is, by the unanimous aſſent of all the good and the wiſe, pronounced the beſt form of Government ever deviſed by the wit of man; of that Conſtitution, which it is my heart's pride to think I was born to protect.

I have ſeen under the picture of more than one Sovereign, an inſcription to which few ever had a right, "Everſo miſſus ſuccurrere ſæclo." What if the ſtatue of the Great Alfred, executed by the nobleſt artiſt, were placed in the Preſence Chamber at St. James's, with thoſe ſignificant words at bottom? might they not kindle a ſalutary emulation in the royal breaſt, that reflected how truly they were applicable to that beſt and greateſt of our Kings?

Annual commemorations have been inſtituted in honour of celebrated men, and remarkable events. Where is the man more deſerving of celebrity than Alfred? What event more intereſting to Engliſhmen, than the reſcuing of England from the ſlavery of a foreign nation, the aſſerting of its liberties,

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liberties, and the reſtoring it to peace and proſperity?

Why is there not in the Engliſh calendar, a day ſacred to the memory of King Alfred? The celebration of ſuch a day, would honour the Monarch that propoſed, and the nation that adopted the idea. That day perhaps will come. None throughout the year would deſerve to be kept with greater ſolemnity and exultation.

With reluctance I mention the name of the divine Alfred in company with that of the ſanguinary Henry. But he too had his merits. Bred in the ſcholaſtic learning of an age that was faſt ripening to better knowledge, his pride and preſumption ſupplied the place of prudence and diſcernment; and we owe to his violence and to his vices, what the mild virtues of an amiable Prince might not perhaps have accompliſhed.

"This uſeful tyrant's brutal rage," to uſe Thomſon's denomination of him in his Seaſons, is one of the moſt ſingular and ſtriking inſtances, how much good is occaſionally educible out of the greateſt evils. It is enough to ſay, that it produced the Reformation, with all its attendant bleſſings. Hence, while we execrate that Monarch, we ſtill muſt revere the memory of his reign; but the character of Alfred, and the remembrance

membrance of his actions, are both equally ſacred, and we love the man no leſs than we reverence the king.

What a tranſition am I now to make? From Alfred to James; from royal perfection to——— But let me forget the monarch, and remember my progenitor; the prince from whom my family derives the higheſt luſtre it could have received, that of being called by the willing, uncompelled aſſent of the freeſt people on earth, to ſit upon their throne, and to become the guardians of their laws, liberties, and happineſs.

Oh England, it is there I feel the dignity with which my fathers were inveſted. They waded not through ſeas of blood, to an uſurped authority over an enſlaved people. They came to thee, at thy own friendly deſire and invitation. They came in compliance with thy earneſt wiſhes, and, let me add what is higheſt to their honour, with thy unpurchaſed conſent. They accepted unequivocally the conditions, on which their brows were to be graced with the Britiſh diadem; and, with rapture I ſpeak it, they have punctually fulfilled them.

While gratitude for the luſtre conferred on my family, while the reſpect due to that anceſtor, from whom that luſtre originated, prevent me from giving vent to ſuch thoughts as others would

feel no ſcruple to expreſs, let me not, however, in the balance of compariſon between Alfred and James, throw impartiality entirely out of the ſcale. The regard and reſpect which are due from princes to the community, over which they are born to preſide, ought to ſuperſede every conſideration of blood and deſcent.

With what ſatisfaction ſhould I dwell on the character of James, were he an object worthy of being placed in a line of competition with Alfred! but, alas, what a difference! The one in the midſt of ignorance and barbariſm, could lift himſelf above the difficulties of every denomination, that conſpired, as it were, to depreſs him, and by the moſt ſtupendous exertions that were ever recorded, aroſe to the higheſt ſummit of dignity that ever graced a monarch or a man. Warrior, ſovereign, legiſlator, he united the virtues and qualities of each in the moſt eminent degree, and is, incontrovertibly, the brighteſt model of royalty that was ever exhibited.

How different the picture of James! born in an age of learning, and educated by a man completely qualified to give his mind a proper turn to ſolid, manly knowledge, the celebrated Buchanan, he profited no further than to attain the accompliſhments of a mere ſcholar; a character which a king ſhould be ſtudious to avoid, and which experience has

has already taught me to be one of the moſt inſignificant and uſeleſs attainments, for the great purpoſes of ſociety.

Slaviſhly devoted to his books, James became a diſgrace to literature, by the unworthy uſes to which he applied it. Neglecting the duties of his ſtation, he gave himſelf up to thoſe idle diſquiſitions, which ought, for the intereſts of human nature, to be baniſhed from every circle, that aims at the reputation of cultivating ſound reaſon.

But unhappily for that monarch, though he lived at an æra when ſciences and letters were in honour, yet it muſt be confeſt, that prejudices and errors of various kinds, had ſtill fatal poſſeſſion of the majority of people. He complied in ſome meaſure with the reigning taſte of the times, in mixing with thoſe who kindled, or ſupported, the miſerable diſputes on religious matters, that were ſo much, and ſo unfortunately in vogue throughout Chriſtendom.

With all the reverence that is due to a claſs of men, inſtituted for the inſtruction and edification of ſociety, I feel myſelf bound in duty to the realm, which it may be my deſtiny to govern, to lay to their charge much of the deſpicableneſs of James's character: ſurrounded by a croud of ſycophants, too many of them were of that claſs, and ſtrove with marked emulation to ingratiate

themſelves with their royal maſter, by an abject compliance with his moſt extravagant and iniquitous aims. In what terms ſhall I characteriſe the ſpeech of an archbiſhop, who pronounced the opinion of James on ſome theological ſubject, beſt forgotten, to have been dictated by the ſpirit of God? what am I to think of another prelate, who durſt in preſence of the whole court, compliment away at one breath the freedom and property of the kingdom? were not ſuch men anſwerable to their country for the miſchiefs ariſing from their adulation? were not theſe miſchiefs of the moſt woeful kind? the perverting of that regard for the rights of his people, of which a monarch cannot loſe ſight, without betraying his truſt, the abuſe of the power lodged in his hands for the benefit of the public, the conſequent indignation and reſentment of the nation, a reign, in ſhort, embittered by continual diſcontents and complaints?

Such was the legacy left to his ſon Charles by the unfortunate James, together with an education framed on ſuch principles, as neceſſarily produced thoſe evils and calamities which terminated in that terrible cataſtrophe, ſtill annually recorded with horror.

With ſuch precedents before me, let me well remember the cauſes that produced them; let me be thoroughly convinced, that it is by acting a part

part intirely oppoſite to that of thoſe deluded Princes, that a King of England muſt expect to reign in ſafety and honour. There is no people more willing, more zealous, than the Engliſh, to pay the ſincereſt tribute of attachment, of affection, to their Monarchs, while their conduct is regulated by the ſpirit of the conſtitution; but there is no people ſo intolerant of oppreſſion and ill treatment. May theſe two truths ſink deep into my heart, and become the ruling maxim of my whole life.

LUCUBRATION III.

"REGIS ad exemplum totus componitur orbis." No words can convey a ſtronger idea, how eſſentially it is incumbent on a Sovereign, to render his private life no leſs worthy of imitation, than his public conduct of eſteem.

I am not a king, and feel not the leaſt impatience to become one. I daily diſcover the perplexities adherent to a crown. I am convinced that no wiſe man will envy him that wears it; but of all countries, England is that which demands a peculiar make of ſoul in the man who is to ſit on the throne.

The line I have mentioned concerns every Monarch, and every one that is to be a Monarch.

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It is truly a *multum in parvo.* It is a brief tranſcript of the great leſſon, with which Princes ſhould be acquainted at large.

A King cannot hide himſelf. He not only lives for the public, but in the midſt of the public. Nothing that he ſays, any more than what he does, can remain concealed. Privacy and retirement are not even allowed his thoughts. However he may endeavour to keep them locked up in his boſom, the prying eyes of thoſe who ſurround him, will watch every avenue, through which they may pierce into that receſs; and it is not in the power of a human being to ſtand perpetually on his guard.

Is this an enviable condition? Nothing but the proſpect of acting in ſuch wiſe, as to preſerve his character unſullied, can poſſibly reconcile a thinking man to the burden of royalty. Nothing therefore ſhould ſo profoundly occupy the thoughts of a Prince, as the care to learn, and the determination to perform the duties of the arduous function which is impoſed upon him.

Royalty appears an eaſy taſk only to ſuch as are unworthy of it. Whoever feels for the honour of the country which he is to govern, will view his ſituation with an eye of diffidence and modeſty; at the ſame time that his heart will glow with warmth for its welfare and reputation.

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There is a paſſage in the life of Cromwell, which makes me almoſt forget that he was an uſurper. On acquainting his council with the ſucceſsful tranſactions of ſome of his Admirals, he added with the ſpirit of a true patriot, that he hoped to live long enough to render the name of an Engliſhman as reſpectable as that of a Roman. What a pity that ſuch a man was not born the lawful heir to a throne!

Patriotiſm not only atones for many failings, but inſpires a man of moderate abilities with ſuch a portion of ardour for the good of the community, as makes him inceſſantly watchful of every opportunity that offers to ſerve it, and enables him at the ſame time to effect his intentions.

To ſplendid talents patriotiſm is a flame that ſets them in a blaze, even in the very ſpring of life. Condé began the downfall of Spain by his victory at Rocroy; and Scipio ſaved Rome, long before they had attained the meridian of their days.

Since a Patriot King is the nobleſt title in human ſociety, what is the reaſon that ſo few deſerve it? two things ſeem principally to obſtruct the growth of patriotiſm in the breaſt of a Prince. The one is the want of a happy education, the other is too early an arrival at ſupreme power. Which of theſe two is the greateſt enemy to patriotiſm, is hard to decide: but when both theſe

evils

evils are united, they form an inſuperable barrier to that firſt and moſt eſſential of all the royal virtues.

Nothing, I have been told, endears the memory of Henry the fourth to the French, more than the paternal ardour, with which he expreſt his celebrated wiſh, that he might not die, till he had enabled the pooreſt of his ſubjects to provide a fowl for his Sunday's dinner. What a ſublimity of patriotiſm in a homely expreſſion!

Henry the fourth was the Alfred of the French. I hope they will accept of the compariſon, eſpecially when they reflect, that the Engliſh hero had all the virtues of the French, without any of his blemiſhes.

It is with heartfelt grief, that I peruſe the hiſtory of my country in ſearch of patriotiſm, and find ſo little of it upon the throne. But this is an invidious ſubject. I will only expreſs my fervent deſire, that I may not be ranked by poſterity among thoſe Princes, to whom it will refuſe the title of Patriot.

Among the various bleſſings for which I am indebted to Providence, I am now arrived at a period of life, when I am capable of diſcerning the ſerioufneſs of the obligations impoſed upon me by my birth. I count it the greateſt happineſs, that I was not called upon in the immaturity

of

of youth, to undertake the important charge which may ſome day devolve upon me. Far be that day, is the wiſh of my ſoul. Too well do I know the price I muſt pay for the glitter of a diadem, to aſpire after one, till honour and duty jointly compel me to aſſume it.

The line above cited will ſeem perhaps more applicable to a foreign than to a Britiſh monarch. But notwithſtanding the freedom and lofty mind of my countrymen, their character has always borne a viſible reference to that of the Sovereign under whom they lived. Warriors under a warrior, bigots under a bigot, enterpriſing under a ſpirited ruler, and inactive under feeble Princes. The rule admits of ſome exceptions, but is in general too true.

Under all thoſe variations, however, happily the main part of their character continued unaltered. To their honour let it be recorded, that whatever degradations they ſuffered in other reſpects, they were ſtill the laſt people on earth that ſubmitted patiently to tyranny.

If ſo much depends, even in this free country, on the character of its Sovereign, how much am I bound to preſerve my own unſpotted!

Let me not however expect to eſcape the cenſure of the world. I have my faults, and I have too much candour not to acknowledge them. But

let thoſe who have impartiality enough to conſider my ſituation in life, the temptations that ſurround me, that I am not yet emerged from the age of paſſions, that no reſtraints withhold me, let them weigh againſt theſe the faults of which I have been guilty. I truſt that the generoſity of a noble minded people, will go hand in hand with its ſeverity, and not aſcribe to diſpoſition thoſe irregularities that have reſulted from the unguardedneſs of paſſions.

But what is a young man without thoſe paſſions that are incident to youth? Experience daily teaches that thoſe whoſe conduct is meaſured by the greateſt external regularity, often conceal paſſions of the moſt ſordid kind. It is beneath me to cite names; but let thoſe beſt converſant in the individuals and manners of the preſent day, declare how many they could point out, who under the maſk of a regular deportment, cheriſh the baſeſt inclinations.

Thoſe paſſions which cannot be hidden from men, are, it is well known, leſs prejudicial to them, than thoſe which may be cloaked with ſpecious appearances. We may guard againſt the former, but the latter will have wrought their effect before they are diſcovered.

An abſence of thoſe paſſions to which the generality of youth is ſubject, is uſually ſupplied by

that deteſtable vice, hypocriſy. May I take the liberty to add, that I feel not the leaſt propenſity to this vice; nature has formed me open and frank. I have no talents for deception; and I had rather confeſs my errors, than be at the trouble of ſcreening them.

But I am ſtill young enough to hope that the errors I have committed, will not reflect upon the integrity of my heart, however they may have diſcloſed juvenile indiſcretion; and I am now advancing into that period, which will enable men to judge of me more deciſively, than by thoſe youthful ſallies, which I will not in the mean time be offended with my beſt friends for being the firſt to condemn.

LUCUBRATION IV.

FROM the demiſe of Queen Anne to the preſent period, I have obſerved with deep regret, that party ſpirit has more than ever been the moving ſpring in the government of this kingdom.

By party ſpirit I do not mean the diſſentions that gave birth to the Rebellions of the years fifteen and forty-five; but thoſe unceaſing contentions about the enjoyment of power, which take

their riſe in the perſonal ambition, and private intereſt of men.

I have often heard it affirmed, that it was in vain, a monarch of this country would labour to detach himſelf from the views of party; that he muſt chuſe his men, and abide by them at all events, if he would retain a character of ſteadineſs and conſiſtency.

I am however of a different opinion. Young as I am in politics, I diſcover no neceſſity for a Britiſh monarch to chain himſelf down to particular individuals, in order to carry on ſucceſsfully the buſineſs of government.

The only rule to enable him to reign with ſafety and honour, is to adhere faithfully to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and to unite himſelf with thoſe men only whoſe conſtitutional principles are undoubted, and whoſe conduct has invariably been ſtamped by national approbation. This is the broad bottom ſo much recommended by Engliſh patriots; while he ſtands on no other, he may ſet all opponents at defiance.

This is a plain, but an infallible maxim. It has always been by an intrepid and reſolute adherence to it, the champions of Engliſh liberty have preſerved it from the ſubverſion with which it has ſo frequently been threatened.

If

If ſubjects acting upon conſtitutional principles have been able to reſiſt monarchs, theſe, in their turn, by ſtanding on the ſame ground, will certainly defeat all unjuſt oppoſition.

But let an Engliſh Monarch be perſuaded, that unleſs his views are manifeſtly patriotic, he will, like ſuch of his predeceſſors as have attempted to infringe the rights of their people, meet with a ſufficiency of mortifications to convince him, that duplicity and ſiniſter intentions are in their nature ſo perceptible, that no pretences will cover them from ſight.

The Public in England is hawk-eyed in whatever concerns its liberties. The ſentiments inculcated into Engliſhmen from their infancy, the latitude and boldeſs of mind acquired by the free maxims that influence their education, the freedom of the preſs, and of univerſal converſation, are ſuch barriers, as no other nation could ever boaſt, againſt the inimical deſigns of their rulers.

The Engliſh perceive at once the drift of every meaſure propoſed by their governors. Hiſtory repreſents them as chearfully ſubmitting to ſuch burdens as the neceſſity of times and circumſtances impoſed upon them; but ſpurning with indignation at demands not requiſite, or made upon them in the wantonneſs of power.

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I am ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at a people, who in the ſupport of their honour, in every juſt and noble cauſe that required or invited their exertions, could unreluctantly ſacrifice ſuch enormous ſums, that it almoſt exceeds comprehenſion how means could be found to raiſe them.

But my wonder increaſes, when I recollect there was a time that this ſame people refuſed twenty ſhillings to an adminiſtration, the conduct of which they diſapproved.

England is the only country where ſuch an inflexibility of patriotiſm was found. Immortal Hampden! with what regret I behold a noble hiſtorian repreſenting the death of ſuch a man as a national deliverance! How could Charles miſtake the character of a people, who laid before him ſuch a ſpecimen of their ſpirit!

This ſpirit ſeems the traditional inheritance of Engliſhmen. It follows them inſeparably, wherever their name and power extend. They tranſport it with them to the furtheſt verges of the earth. After aſſerting it repeatedly in their own country, they maintained it with no leſs obſtinacy in that fatal conteſt which deprived England of America.

How dangerous to contend with a ſpirit, which, when driven to extremities, has produced ſo many diſaſters! Let me however revere it, as the parent of the nobleſt exertions. Equity and humanity are

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alſo its attributes. It is no leſs attentive to the preſervation of the local rights of ſubjected nations, than to the eſtabliſhment of freedom at home. It extends its juſtice and compaſſion equally to the oppreſſed Indian and to the African ſlave.

Taught by the dear-bought experience of thoſe who have unadviſedly oppoſed this irreſiſtible ſpirit, may I duly reſpect the principles on which it is founded; and abhor, as my worſt enemies, thoſe who would teach me to undervalue them. Education has implanted in me a deep and happy conviction of their being the firmeſt ſupport of the crown of this free country. Who that is wiſe would attempt to eradicate ideas ſo long and profoundly rooted in the minds of ſo enlightened and reſolute a nation. Weak muſt that monarch be who yields to the deluſive temptation of overthrowing the work of ſo many centuries. Examples have ſufficiently ſhewn, that Engliſhmen acknowledge a ſovereign on no other condition than that of faithfully upholding the fabric erected by the wiſdom, and cemented with the blood of their anceſtors. Let him ſeriouſly reflect, that in defence of this conſtitution, to uſe the phraſe of their ſtaunchеſt patriots, they profeſs to be ready to die on the ſcaffold, or to bleed in the field.

As it is the duty of an Engliſh King to employ none but the avowed friends of the conſtitution, he

he ſhould be no leſs aware that the execution of conſtitutional deſigns belongs only to men above all narrow and perſonal views. As none but ſuch underſtand the nature of freedom, no others are calculated for the exerciſe of government in this land of liberty.

In England, more than in any country, elevation and magnanimity of character form the moſt indiſpenſible requiſite in thoſe who are placed at the helm. No other qualifications, however ſpecious and brilliant, will atone for the want of this one, in the eyes of Engliſhmen.

A little mind, either in Prince or Miniſter, is a national curſe, which nothing can remedy. The former is uſually an overbearing maſter, the latter a ſupple ſlave. The firſt is incapable of forming great deſigns, the ſecond of executing them.

How fortunate is a Monarch, who has met with men of abilities to ſecond his laudable views, and of reſolution enough to refuſe their concurrence in any other! Such men, however, are prizes that few Princes know how to value. It is uſually their fate to be much more taken with thoſe artful courtiers, who, though by no means deficient in capacity, enter on the ſcenes of public life, fully determined to make every talent they poſſeſs ſubſervient to their private purpoſes. The greater their endowments, the more dangerous they muſt prove to Princes of a noble diſpoſition. Candid

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and unſuſpecting, ſuch Princes ſeldom fail to become the tools, and often the victims, of ſuch agents.

The moſt important buſineſs of a King, who courts honeſt fame and well-founded popularity, is therefore to diſcover upon whom he can place reliance; as, ſhould his choice prove unhappy, and of courſe involve him in perplexities, he muſt expect, however his intentions may be upright, to meet with as much cenſure and ill-will as if he were guilty of ſiniſter deſigns. The propenſity of men leading them to judge of their rulers by the agents whom they think fit to employ, and to applaud or condemn them, proportionably to the worth or the demerit of the depoſitaries of their authority.

In this country more than any other, the appointment of Miniſters is that in which a Prince will find the greateſt difficulty to pleaſe the Public. In arts, in ſciences, in literature, in the army, in the navy, men of eminent qualities and parts will naturally force themſelves to public view, and their merits be acknowledged, in ſpite of the rankeſt envy: but in the multiplicity of ſtateſmen that have paſſed before my eyes, young as I am, I conſtantly find a ſpirit of detraction concomitant upon every one of them without exception. While ſome repreſent them in the faireſt colours, others deny

them ſubſtantial merit, and allow them at moſt but the arts of ſpecioufneſs and plauſibility.

Whence this implacable cenſorioufneſs, which I daily witneſs from every ſide? Has England loſt its energy, in the production of able men? certainly not: we are proverbially a nation of politicians, and it is impoſſible, in the unceaſing conflict of parties, that men of the moſt ſplendid abilities ſhould not be formed among thoſe numbers, who are compelled to call forth the powers they have received from nature and education, in ſupport of the cauſe which they have reſpectively eſpouſed.

But herein lies the main difficulty. Where ſuch a profuſion of abilities is daily diſplayed on every ſubject that demands them, a man is at a loſs to whom he ſhall aſſign the pre-eminence: the great duty therefore is to ſeek out that quality, without which the moſt ſhining talents are but a ſnare to thoſe who truſt them.

Integrity becomes for that reaſon the main ſtandard by which to abide in the choice of a ſtateſman. It is an ingredient that will brighten the moſt reſplendent capacity, and give weight to the moſt moderate.

I hear it every day repeated, that middling talents, with an upright heart, are preferable to the higheſt without it; and the experience of my ſhort period has already fixed me in the habit of holding

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faſt by the vulgar proverb, that honeſty is the beſt policy.

But let me not be miſunderſtood. By integrity I mean a long-tried and unviolated adherence to the principles of the conſtitution.

An Engliſh Monarch ſhould eſpecially beware of being faſcinated by the glare of private integrity. Often is an individual irreproachable in his perſonal morals, and yet in his public principles the worſt of foes to his country. Political integrity is therefore the indiſpenſible recommendation that ſhould influence a Sovereign of this nation, in his preference of perſons to fill the departments of ſtate.

The beſt and cleareſt proof of this character is an early avowal of conſtitutional principles, and a marked attachment to them in every ſtage and progreſs of life with undeviating conſiſtency. This is the ſole teſt by which to chuſe Miniſters and public men. It is among thoſe individuals whoſe friendſhips and mutual connexions ariſe from, and are cemented by ſuch principles, that an Engliſh Monarch will find the ſtaunchеſt aſſertors and firmeſt props of his lawful rights; nor can he, with any certain proſpect of ſtability to his government, or ſafety to his perſon, form his intimacies among men of another deſcription.

LUCUBRATION V.

A Notion has ſtarted up of late years, that every man in high ſtation has two characters, a public and a private one. I am not old enough to aſſume the privilege of deciding, whether this opinion is well founded; but this I am entitled to ſay, that I would not truſt the man in public affairs who had deceived me in private.

The origin of this notion is perhaps in the long-made obſervation, that an addiction to the convivial, or even to the irregular pleaſures of domeſtic or ſocial life, is not incompatible with the punctual diſcharge of the moſt ſerious duties in a public man; and that, however they may caſt an appearance of too much gaiety and diſſipation on the conduct of individuals in exteriors, they do not contaminate the heart.

Feſtivity of diſpoſition is certainly no proof either of levity or of negligence. The moſt agreeable individuals I have met with, have invariably been the moſt knowing and intelligent; and the men whom I would the moſt willingly truſt, have generally been thoſe in whoſe company I have moſt delighted.

There is uſually a cloſe alliance between probity and chearfulneſs. They are naturally the beſt ſupport to each other. I ſhall ſooner ſuſpect the grave and moroſe, than the gay and airy.

Suſcep-

Suſceptibility of friendſhip is the happieſt concomitant of a chearful diſpoſition. How fortunate were a Prince, who could attach individuals of worth to his perſon, by that moſt endearing of all ties! Unleſs, indeed, attachment to a Prince, as well as to another man, be founded on affection ariſing from eſteem, it proceeds from motives on which little reliance can be placed.

If friendſhip is the balm of life between individuals of all conditions, why ſhould Princes be excluded from the partaking of this common bleſſing? But why ſhould I doubt the miſtake of thoſe who think them incapable, or unworthy of it? The imputation is equally falſe and injurious. If I appeal to hiſtory, it furniſhes abundant proof, that the beſt and wiſeſt Monarchs have had their friends and intimates, and were evidently indebted to them for much of their fame and felicity.

The two greateſt Princes in modern times, Henry the Fourth of France, and Guſtavus Adolphus of Sweden, were both peculiarly happy in this reſpect. The firſt in the friendſhip of Sully, the ſecond in that of Oxenſtiern. The attachment of Sully to Henry, had been tried to the utmoſt in the worſt of times. When that great Monarch was reduced to the moſt mortifying neceſſities that could befall a Prince, and it was

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very doubtful, whether he would be able to make good his claim to the crown of France, Sully ſold his patrimony to relieve his maſter's wants. The ſincerity of Oxenſtiern's affection had alſo been manifeſted by ſubſtantial proofs; and they both poſſeſſed the unlimited confidence of their reſpective ſovereigns.

When ſuch kings meet with ſuch friends, then let the people, in the language of ſcripture, ſhout for joy. Sorry I am, that in the hiſtory of my own country, I cannot find an inſtance appoſite to the preſent. I have read and heard much of the firm connexion between Charles the firſt and Strafford. He was doubtleſs a man of great courage and capacity; but he had made himſelf an object of popular hatred; and it would ill become me to defend the meaſures of Charles.

Let thoſe who inveigh ſo bitterly againſt friendſhips between Princes and ſubjects, cite, if they can, two Monarchs who were better ſerved, whoſe affairs were more ſucceſsfully and more faithfully managed, who were in ſhort wiſer and happier in the choice of their miniſters, than Henry and Guſtavus. They are an illuſtrious refutation of that auſtere and gloomy doctrine, that no ſincerity of friendſhip, no ſentimental union can ſubſiſt between a ſubject and a King.

But

But what an inſult to human nature is ſuch an opinion! If ever the ſternneſs of Republicaniſm meant a degradation of royalty, it was ſurely by fabricating this baſe idea. I feel its falſehood too forcibly, to withhold my indignation at any man, that could admit the poſſibility of its truth.

The nobleſt features in the picture of Henry, are thoſe wherein we forget the king, and behold the man of tenderneſs and feeling. Who can view that excellent Prince embracing his wounded friend, with that warmth of expreſſion which hiſtory has tranſmitted to us, without congratulating himſelf, that the emotions of nature in a noble mind, are ſtronger than the workings of pride, ſo unjuſtly imputed to all Princes indiſcriminately?

Whence therefore can have ariſen that hateful notion, that a Prince can have no friends?

" Non bene conveniunt, nec in una ſede morantur,
" Majeſtas et Amor."

This aſſertion has been applied to the friendſhip of kings as well as to love. But if I may at an age, when paſſion begins to reſpect the voice of reaſon, deliver my ſentiments on this matter, theſe words are applicable to neither. Love is the natural law of all beings. It is the ground-work of all human refinements. No gentleneſs of manners,

manners, no politeneſs, no elegance of intercourſe without it.

Neither is that aſſertion applicable to the friendſhip a Monarch may entertain for any of his ſubjects. No ſtation ſtands more in need of this beſt of reliefs from anxieties and cares, than that of a Sovereign. To deprive him of ſuch a comfort, is to ſink his condition beneath that of the loweſt of his people. It is in fact, ſuppoſing him devoid of all feeling; and is ſuch a ſuppoſition compatible with the paternal ſolicitude, which is required from him about all their concerns? a Prince that ſhould anſwer the idea of thoſe, who deny him the common privileges of love and friendſhip, would in the firſt place be a diſgrace to human nature; and in the ſecond, a ſcourge to the community.

A man worthy of becoming the friend of a Prince is no ſuch rarity. Men deſerving of ſuch a diſtinction, may be found in all countries, even in thoſe where Sovereigns are abſolute. How many noble inſtances of diſintereſtedneſs have been met with in all the European courts? how often have Princes received the moſt undiſguiſed ſtatement of their affairs, the moſt unqualified and direct anſwers to their queſtions, from thoſe who had much to loſe, and ran no ſmall riſk from their frankneſs and integrity?

If

If in foreign parts, where the will of a Monarch is the ſupreme law, where a courtier, by adhering to truth, may forfeit what is deareſt to him, ſuch honeſt and intrepid individuals are found, England ſurely, where liberty has erected its throne, where no man need dread another, where freedom of ſpeech is the right of all, where this freedom has been felt by its proudeſt Monarchs, England ſurely muſt abound in ſuch men.

Nor do I imagine that rank or opulence only ſhould point out whom to honour by his predilection. Many a mean heart, in the words of Pope, lurks beneath a ſtar. Neither is it unlikely, that from the openneſs and unreſerve which characteriſe the middle and decent claſſes of life in a free country, they will uſually produce the majority of candid and reſolute ſpeakers.

An intimacy with men of great parts and ingenuous diſpoſition, in whatever claſs they may be found, is the happieſt circumſtance that can befal a Prince. Without ſuch men, Kings remain uninformed and unaſſiſted in thoſe affairs which they have moſt at heart. Without an intimacy with ſuch men, Kings are always ſuſpected of wanting capacity themſelves, and unhappily the ſuſpicion is too well grounded.

Happy the Monarch whoſe throne, in the language of a man whoſe memory this nation juſtly

reveres, the great Lord Chatham, is ſurrounded by all the abilities of the nation; but how much happier, when thoſe abilities are in the poſſeſſion of men determined to employ them for none but noble purpoſes, whoſe ſpirits are too proud to ſtoop beneath the frowns of power, who carry their ſouls in their countenance, and expreſs their ſentiments fearleſs of the conſequences.

No monarch on earth can ſo readily as a King of England, fill his court with men of ſuch character: no others indeed are fit to approach the King of a free people, who ought to reign in their hearts, and ought to know that the only method of doing this effectually, is to ſuffer near his perſon none but individuals above all mean ſuſpicions. Partiality to people unworthy of his favour is one of the heavieſt reproaches he can encounter, as it tends to make every man of worth his enemy.

It ſometimes happens however, that the commonalty of mankind do not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh between the intimates of Princes and their pleaſurable acquaintance: theſe belong ſolely to the convivial hour; and ſhould be ſtrictly conſidered as the mere aſſiſtants of their feſtivity. But woe to the Prince who knows not how to ſeparate the man of buſineſs from the man of pleaſure; not but theſe two characters may be blended in one individual;

individual; but when they are not, he muſt be ſhort-ſighted indeed, who cannot perceive it.

I eſteem it my peculiar felicity, that long before it may be my deſtiny to aſcend a throne, I can contemplate it at a diſtance, accompanied by thoſe who are able to inſtruct me how to fill it with propriety. Another diſtinguiſhing happineſs attends an heir to the Britiſh crown. Environed by a young and ſpirited nobility, who feel their future conſequence in the ſcale of government, and are unawed by any ſlaviſh fears in the reſpect they pay to his perſon, he is actuated by every motive to live with them as his companions, and to profit by the leſſons of freedom, which he has daily opportunities of learning, from the unreſtraint with which youth, high ſelf notions, and a conſciouſneſs of their independence will naturally inſpire them.

It were hard, if among ſuch aſſociates, I ſhould be denied the happineſs of finding ſome entirely deſerving of my affection and eſteem.

I am convinced that the complaints of ſubjects on account of the confidents and intimates of Kings, are not ſo much founded on the impropriety of the thing itſelf, as on the unworthineſs of thoſe who fill that arduous poſt.

In a free country eſpecially, the ſelection of a confidential adviſer is a dangerous meaſure, when he unites to this diſtinction, that of poſſeſſing a boundleſs influence and aſcendency. But this preſuppoſes a debility of underſtanding, and a weakneſs of ſoul, from which I hope my propitious genius will ſufficiently protect me.

In the mean time, I am duly conſcious that the friendſhip of an Engliſh King ſhould be open and avowed. The public muſt know and approve it. The moment their approbation is withdrawn, the friend whom he retains againſt the general opinion, aſſumes the appellation of favourite. But let a Prince remember that this is the moſt odious of all diſtinctions in the eye of a free people; to whom he cannot offer a more mortifying inſult, than by thus ſetting his underſtanding over that of a whole nation.

The difference between a friend and a favourite is immenſe. The one appears in the light of day, the other ſeeks concealment; the former is a public, the latter is a private agent; but woe to that Monarch whoſe inmoſt counſellors are afraid to be known.

Whoever offers advice to a King of England under the veil of ſecreſy, acts a ſuſpicious part: oſtenſibility and reſponſibility ſhould attend every counſel and plan laid before him; otherwiſe the

Monarch

Monarch may be converted into the inſtrument of a Projector.

Great indeed are the perils accruing to a King of England from a propenſity to cheriſh any man as a particular favourite: the Engliſh hiſtory is very diſcouraging in this reſpect; but when we conſider who were the favourites of ſome of our kings, who will wonder that they proved an eyeſore to the public, or a diſgrace to the ſovereign? While unworthy and unpopular hands hold the reins of adminiſtration, how can it be expected that clamours will be ſilenced, when ſo ſubſtantial a reaſon ſubſiſts for their being as loud and forcible as a diſcontented and reſolute people can make them.

As the character of a private individual is known by his friendſhips and intimacies, ſo is the wiſdom of a King by his choice of thoſe whom he ſelects as the partners of his cares. Hiſtory will teach him that he need fear no diſſatisfaction while his confidence is lodged with miniſters that are acceptable to the nation, and his countenance ſhewn to individuals whoſe actions do it honour. A Sydney, an Eſſex, a Walſingham, a Raleigh, to mention no other worthies of thoſe illuſtrious days, were no leſs the favourites of the public than of Elizabeth.

But

But notwithſtanding my determination to cheriſh only the deſerving, I am not ſo vain, as to promiſe myſelf that univerſal approbation will follow the objects of my choice, or even that I may not have cauſe to repent. It was a ſaying of Lewis the fourteenth, that whenever he conferred a favour upon any man, he had diſobliged a hundred others, and been paid with ingratitude. I hope for the honour of human nature, that there was more of ill-humour than of truth in this aſſertion. But when the uncertainty of every man's motives of attachment to perſons in power, is duly conſidered, they ſhould for their own juſtification diſtinguiſh no one by their liberality or countenance, that is not indiſputably poſſeſt of ſufficient merit to warrant ſuch notice, and to ſilence thoſe who would reproach them of partiality.

LUCU-

LUCUBRATION VI.

FORTITUDE of mind, and elegance of parts, are ſeldom united in a man addicted to flattery. I have invariably experienced the moſt ſervile obſequiouſneſs from thoſe individuals, of whoſe underſtanding and ſpirit I entertained the ſlighteſt opinion.

For this reaſon I could never cheriſh much eſteem for ſuch as were unchangeably ready to coincide with all my opinions. This coincidence is certainly no proof of friendſhip, as it is ſo often made the moſt dangerous inſtrument of enmity.

The abſence of contradiction is to me the ſeaſon of dulneſs. I ſhould be much mortified, were I ſuſpected to harbour ſuch ideas of my own judgment, as to be offended at a difference of opinion. I ought long ago, were this one of my defects, to have been radically cured by the experience repeatedly afforded me, that no Prince can act his part ſatisfactorily in this country, who is not convinced that he may be often miſtaken, and muſt frequently bend under the weight of public contradiction.

But nature has in its particular bounty, denied me that overbearing temper which renders men intole-

intolerant of oppoſition to their will. I court not univerſal compliance with my humour. The ſociable circles I delight in, muſt, I apprehend, have removed all ſuſpicions of this nature from my character.

Manlineſs and veracity have ever been the two qualifications on which I ſet the higheſt value. Excluſive of the meanneſs of adulation, it is attended by a companion, from whom it is neceſſarily inſeparable. This companion is duplicity; without which adulators could not carry on their approaches, and circumvent the objects of which they mean to take poſſeſſion.

There are no Princes to whom flattery is ſo pernicious, as to thoſe who are born to wear the crown of this kingdom. It lays them open to numberleſs inconveniences; it prepares a multiplicity of mortifications. The wretched incenſe of unmeaning, unfounded praiſe, with which they are fed by a ſervile herd, within the precincts of their palace, evaporates there; and they are liable to hear another language when they venture abroad.

The Engliſh are a free-hearted, and no leſs a free-ſpoken people. While courtiers are bending the knee, the public, regardleſs of their venal and intereſted ſubſerviency, canvaſſes the actions of the ſovereign with the ſame liberty, as thoſe

of

of a ſubject; and if they cannot ſtand the teſt of an impartial examination, he will not remain long ignorant of the diſſatisfaction they have cauſed.

To flatter therefore a King of England, is not only to deceive, but to injure him, it expoſes him to the indignation, and even to the inſults of the meaneſt of his ſubjects. Theſe indeed from their obſcurity, and the abſence of all hope or fear from him, will be the readieſt to vent their diſcontents without reſtraint. But let not a Prince be miſtaken, and deſpiſe their clamours: they are the faithful interpreters of what their betters do not chuſe to expreſs in explicit terms. Wiſe is the Monarch who takes warning from ſuch a notice, however coarſly given. It was by undervaluing ſuch admonitions, that Charles the Firſt loſt his head, and James the Second his crown.

May theſe examples teach me betimes the value of national attachment. The Prince who unhappily ſets himſelf above it, will never become THE MAN OF HIS PEOPLE; the nobleſt appellation to which a great and good Monarch will aſpire.

I have often pondered with particular delight on the noted ſaying of the celebrated Gourville, that a King of England, while the man of his people, is every thing; but if otherwiſe, is nothing. How happens it, that this patriotic expreſſion ſhould have proceeded from the mouth of a Frenchman,

and that too under the moſt deſpotic reign that France ever knew!

Such is the predilection, the partiality indeed, which I feel for England, and all that is Engliſh, that I am much diſpleaſed when I find that a foreigner has expreſt ideas concerning this nation which it would have better become a native to have firſt given to the world.

This thirſt of popular applauſe, this dread of public odium, is the moſt ſalutary maxim that a King can cheriſh in his breaſt: the great Henry of France had it perpetually in his ſight; it was perceptible in all his diſcourſe, it was viſible in all his actions. Nothing, would he often ſay, could afflict me more, than to paſs for a tyrant.

Why has not the good fortune of my country produced ſuch a King as Henry, nearer to our own time than him, (ALFRED) whom only I dare mention in the ſame breath! Thoſe who followed this beſt of Princes were an imprudent, unfortunate race, and the Norman line was a ſeries of tyrants. The greateſt of the Plantagenets, like the ages they lived in, were a mixture of grandeur and barbarity. We find among them heroes and conquerors; but we ſeek in vain for fathers of their people. Will they be found among their more civilized ſucceſſors, or even in the ſuperiorly enlightened periods of more recent date? We revere the memory of

William

William the Third, as the fortunate inſtrument of England's deliverance from arbitrary power. He was a brave warrior, and a great politician; but his qualifications went no farther, and he had ſittle of the man that was amiable. Elizabeth herſelf, the glory of the Tudors, though a woman, had nothing of the ſoftneſs, or even of the feelings of her ſex: we admire, but cannot love her. She aſtoniſhes by her abilities, but no leſs offends by her ſeverity, and the hardneſs of her heart. Once more I repeat it, we are obliged to ſearch among our Saxon anceſtors, for the only perfect Royal character that ever graced the throne of this kingdom.

LUCUBRATION VII.

ARDUOUS is the taſk of pleaſing all who have their ſeparate pleas, and their ſeparate views, when both are juſt and natural.

When I view theſe three nations united in one common intereſt againſt all others, and yet diſcordant among themſelves on a variety of points, I ſeriouſly aſk myſelf the queſtion, how ſhall I act in order to deſerve and to obtain the approbation and good-will of all three?

The anſwer to this queſtion is ſhort, and obvious to a liberal mind; by conſidering them as one,

and ſetting aſide every pretence that would imply a contrary ſuppoſition.

Inſtead of bewailing, as ſome affect to do, that theſe two iſlands are not one, inhabited by a ſingle nation, I think I can diſcover various ſources of proſperity, in the diviſions that nature and accidents have eſtabliſhed among us.

The diſparity of national character is not extenſive, though ſufficiently marked to ſtamp a difference; but in the great outlines that render a nation reſpectable to its neighbours, as well as flouriſhing at home, they concur in a perfect reſemblance: brave, ſenſible, enterpriſing, ingenious, are the leading epithets that avowedly belong to all three.

A Prince who views them in this light, will never be biaſſed by any pitiful ſuggeſtions of locality of birth, or of education. He will weigh the pretenſions of individuals in the ſcale of deſert; and wherever this preponderates, he will frankly and fully acknowledge it.

Nothing has given me more diſpleaſure than the invidious compariſons, of which I have ſometimes been witneſs, between the reſpective merits of the three nations. Diſcuſſions of this kind betray a lamentable want of diſcretion in thoſe who promote them. Every wiſe and good man will refuſe them his countenance. Whatever wit and

fancy

fancy may be diſplayed on ſuch occaſions, they deſerve no commendation, as they cannot fail to have, at beſt, a tendency, however remote, to ſow the ſeeds of jealouſy between contendants of ſo keen a perception, and ſo quick a feeling, as the natives of theſe three kingdoms.

There is ſo immenſe a fund of worth of every denomination in each of them, that it is ridiculous to parcel out and appropriate, as ſome pretend to do, their particular portions. I daily meet with individuals of ſuch excellence among them all, that I am at a loſs how to diſcriminate theſe pretended appropriations.

Were it not equally humane and political to take a deciſive reſolution, and to execute it vigorouſly, never to ſuffer contentions about national preeminence to be admitted one inſtant into converſation? is it not incumbent upon me to diſcourage them in the moſt explicit manner, not only by my words, but ſtill more by my actions? by ſilencing them with equal contempt and ſeverity, and by diſtributing my notice and favour without the leaſt conſideration of the country of thoſe whom I chuſe to diſtinguiſh?

I feel equal grief and indignation, when I ſee our public prints infected with that abuſe and ſcurrility, which low and groveling minds take ſuch criminal delight in levelling at their antagoniſts,

niſts, on account of the ſpot of their nativity. Have they forgot what acrimonious diſputes, and dangerous altercations, ſuch illiberal proceedings occaſioned not many years ago? are they ignorant that nothing is more directly calculated to break the bonds of union, in private life, as well as to endanger public peace?

The only remnant of difference, not of diſcord, that I wiſh to ſee preſerved between the three nations, is that of emulation. This can be of no diſſervice to the community; on the contrary, while under the guidance of patriotic and judicious men, it will prove the ſource of high benefits: it will rouſe the ſpirit of the naval and military liſts; it will kindle the fire of genius among the literati, and the artiſts; and will be productive of efforts to diſtinguiſh themſelves in people of all claſſes.

When I contemplate the number of illuſtrious perſons whom theſe three nations have given to the world; when I reflect that through the eminence of their talents, and the vigour of their exertions, we are become the moſt enlightened people, and our government avowedly the beſt conſtituted, it is then that I congratulate myſelf on being a native of this country.

Nor yet do I ſelfiſhly and preſumptuouſly look down upon thoſe who are not poſſeſſed of the ſame bleſſings. Europe is a ſpacious and fruitful field,

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where the nobleſt harveſts have been alternately produced in every part. The lot of ſuperiority is now fallen to our ſhare; but let us remember that we were once barbarians; let us remember through what infinite ſtruggles we have made our way to our preſent proſperity; let us not forget the dangers we have lately eſcaped; let us reflect that the wheel of fortune is in perpetual motion; and then, in the midſt of our honours and felicities, we ſhall retain that portion of modeſty, without which we muſt be unworthy of them.

National pride and arrogance is a vice that ſteals ſo imperceptibly upon the human mind, that unleſs a man inures himſelf to the ſtricteſt impartiality, he will inſenſibly forget what he owes to the great family of mankind; and center all conſiderations within the comparatively ſmall circle to which he belongs.

Nothing derogates more from the good ſenſe of a nation, than a proneneſs to underrate all foreign merit. No nation can be truly enlightened, where ſo unjuſt a propenſity finds admittance. We ſee accordingly, that the moſt ignorant people, uſually, entertain the higheſt opinion of their abilities.

France and England ſtand on the foremoſt rank in all that dignifies human nature. Such, at leaſt, is the language to which I have been uſed from my infancy. I muſt not decide in a caſe of

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ſo arduous a deſcription: The circumſtances attending my condition, have, however, afforded me ample opportunities of hearing many diſſertations of much pertinency on this important ſubject. The reſult has been, that I profeſs the higheſt, and moſt unfeigned reſpect for all the European Nations, without exception; and can, to my great ſatisfaction, diſcover the ſeeds of the nobleſt qualifications implanted in the breaſt of individuals in all countries.

Still, however, as we judge beſt of thoſe with whom we are moſt intimately acquainted, the French are the people, of whom an Engliſhman muſt of courſe form the cleareſt and beſt founded opinion.

It is common with claſſical diſputants, to recall upon this occaſion, the emulation, I would call it the animoſity, that formerly ſubſiſted between Rome and Carthage; and to compare the rivalſhip of thoſe two famous Republics, to that of England and France.

But I will not diſgrace either the Engliſh or the French by ſubſcribing to the juſtneſs of ſuch a compariſon. It is unfounded and inconſiderate. The Romans and the Carthaginians were both a cruel and inhuman people. Hatred, rancour, and vindictiveneſs in their worſt extremes, entered into all their proceedings. They thirſted for each others

blood

blood and deſtruction, like the ſavages in the wilds of America. There was nothing noble, nothing heroic in their long and ſanguinary conteſt; which could only be terminated by the barbarous overthrow, and mercileſs extinction of the leſs fortunate of thoſe implacable foes.

How different the contentions carried on by our French and Engliſh anceſtors: their bravery yielded in no reſpect to that of the Carthaginians and Romans; but in the midſt of the moſt dreadful wars humanity preſided in all its glory; the dictates of magnanimity were paramount to all other conſiderations, and no ferocity ſtained the laurels with which victory crowned them by turns. Few were the inſtances wherein they deviated from this rule. Whoever forgot it, was deemed unworthy and unfit to bear the name of a true warrior.

With what pleaſure I review the annals of ages, wherein a ſenſe of honour ſupplied ſuch a number of deficiencies; let us no more tax them with barbariſm, and triumph in a fancied ſuperiority. They were inferior to us in knowledge and literature; but are we ſuperior in frankneſs of manners and abhorrence of duplicity? in the punctual obſervance of our plighted faith, in that greatneſs of ſoul which ſacrifices all to the preſervation of character?

We have thought proper to ſtile them ages of chivalry and romance; and they deſerve the name; but not in the interpretation which witlings and ſuperficial obſervers have given. They were ages of wonder to thoſe who live in the preſent, and reflect that, without the benefit of a refined education, men could ſoar to the ſublimeſt heights of perſonal worth in all that conſtitutes true greatneſs.

LUCUBRATION VIII.

IT is a truth eſtabliſhed by unvaried experience, that nothing conduces more effectually to excite and perpetuate the ſpirit of a laudable emulation in a people, and to ſharpen their ingenuity, than the hoſpitable admiſſion, and generous encouragement of deſerving foreigners.

Of all the methods taken by the Romans to ſtrengthen and aggrandize their Empire, the maſter-piece of their policy, was not only the adoption of thoſe uſages and practices, of which they recognized the ſuperiority to their own, but the friendly aggregation to their own body, of thoſe people who had ſubmitted to their arms.

Hence the progreſs of their improvement in every art and ſcience, then extant, kept an equal pace with their victories. Every man that felt himſelf

himſelf endowed with any uncommon talent, repaired to them for employment and recompence; and they knew their intereſt too well, to omit ſuch opportunities of benefiting the public.

Conqueſt is no longer the object of thoſe who aim at the reputation of ſound politicians. One might reaſonably preſume indeed, that Europe is too civiliſed and enlightened, unreſiſtingly to permit ambition to extend its ravages and uſurpations over the earth. But there is yet, though a more ſilent, a no leſs efficient method remaining, of adding, not to one's territories indeed, but, what is more beneficial, to one's wealth, and conſequently to one's power.

With great reaſon do the French of this day, execrate that wretched ſpirit of bigotry, which impelled Lewis the Fourteenth to trample on every ſound maxim of policy, by expelling the moſt valuable portion of his ſubjects, for differing from him in ſome miſerable queſtions of theology.

Heartily wiſhing that ſo deſpicable an infatuation may never ſeize the ruling powers of this country, let us in the mean while make the moſt we can of the perſecutions, whether in matters of church or of ſtate, to which ſo many foreign countries are ſtill liable.

The genius of the Engliſh is ſtrong and penetrating. It lies, as it were in wait, to catch every

ſpark of invention, which the lighter fancy of ſome nations is apt to ſtrike out. But how ſoon is every object appropriated, and made our own, in ſo expeditious and complete a manner, that thoſe from whom we receive it in embrio, are no longer able to recognize it? To ſuch eminence of perfection is every diſcovery brought in this country, through the indefatigable quickneſs of inveſtigation, that characteriſes its inhabitants.

I have often lamented the narrow notions of ſuch among us, as complain of the great encouragement ſometimes given to ingenious foreigners: but if they deſerve it, why ſhould it be refuſed to men, who emigrate hither to become a part of ourſelves? Seldom do thoſe who ſettle in this country ever chuſe to leave it.

Liberty has ſuch charms, a government founded on its baſis, is ſo evidently congenial to the feelings of men, that unleſs a foreigner be of the moſt limited underſtanding, he muſt readily perceive how advantageous a change he has made, by relinquiſhing his country for this.

Among the many motives that concur to render this country preferable to others, the temper of the Engliſh is ſuch, that they will readily bow to ſuperior merit, wherever it is found. It is the peculiarity of their character, to lay aſide every conſideration of country, or of religion, in order

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to gratify the laudable propenſity they feel, to employ individuals of capacity in thoſe branches wherein they excel, preferably to their own countrymen, whoſe talents are inferior.

Such an impartiality in the appreciation of abilities, diſplays a generoſity of ſoul, no leſs than a diſcerning mind. It is the happy union of both theſe qualities that principally endears the Engliſh to other nations.

Far therefore will it ever be from me, to treat with indifference foreigners of acknowledged worth. England is a country that ſhould receive them with open arms. Merit cannot too ſoon be naturaliſed. The greater the number, the more ſpeedy and powerful the diffuſion of the endowments they poſſeſs. Let us take poſſeſſion of theſe as eagerly as we can; but let us generouſly reward the importers.

I contemplate the daily influx of ingenious foreigners from all parts, as a clear, though indirect homage paid to this country by all others: a conſideration ſtill more intereſting is, that England, through the proſperity of its circumſtances, is able to receive and provide for them all, if they ſhow themſelves worthy of ſuch proviſion.

Let us then bid welcome to the induſtrious, to the brave, to the intelligent from every quarter of the world. Let us chearfully confer upon them the

right

right of denizens. Let us leave to the ſhallow minded, to the ſuperſtitious, the taſk of ill uſage and of perſecution. To what purpoſe do we boaſt of being ſupereminently enlightened, if we act like thoſe, whom we juſtly deſpiſe for their ignorance, their impolicy, or their intolerance?

LUCUBRATION IX.

THE principal obſtacles to good government in a Monarchy, are indolence, habit, and predilection; inmates, which having once taken poſſeſſion of our faculties, are not eaſily expelled. The ſloth and inactivity of mind wherein Princes are uſually educated, render them more apt to ſubmit to this ſpecies of ſlavery than any other men.

Their honour too ſeems unhappily concerned in the retention of thoſe intimates and confidents, whom they have firſt choſen: they are often loth to diſmiſs them, through the dread of incurring the imputation of inconſtance and levity.

Neither do I know a more difficult taſk for a man of ſenſibility, than to throw off the yoke of a connexion, to which he has been uſed from his infancy. Gratitude ſeems to bind us to thoſe, with whom we have ſpent the firſt years of our exiſtence, and of our dawning reaſon. When we arrive at the verge of maturity, and begin to reflect for ourſelves,

ſelves, our experience is too uncertain, to diſcover the real motives, that attach to us thoſe attendants of every denomination, who profeſs ſo much warmth in our behalf. As adulation and hypochriſy are practices of which we know not yet the full power and extent, we naturally heſitate in our judgment of perſons. Though the theories we may have been taught in the courſe of our education, have warned us againſt flattery and deceit, yet the diſcovery of flatterers and deceivers is left entirely to ourſelves; and it ſeldom fails, that we begin by being groſsly impoſed upon, ere we can come at a due knowledge of the impoſtors.

Another incumbrance on the mind of a young Prince, is the ſhackles thrown upon his intellects by the natural, and indeed the indiſpenſible deference he has been directed to pay to his inſtructors. If theſe happen to be ſhrewd and artful men, as too often is the caſe, his inſtruction will become of courſe but a ſecondary part of their views; they will, inſtead of bending their whole attention to the improvement of their pupil, enter into ſuch of his inclinations, as will open the ſureſt avenue to the poſſeſſion of his confidence; they will aid and abet him in all his purſuits; they will beware of much contradiction; they will ſlide imperceptibly into his humours and notions, and make it their chief

chief ſtudy to ſecure his attachment and favours by every ſort of compliance and ſervility!

Were the preceptor of a Prince to be a man endowed with all thoſe rare accompliſhments, which are ſo juſtly repreſented as requiſite for ſuch a ſtation, we might reaſonably reſign him to the care, which would then be taken to form him to virtue, knowledge, and true grandeur; but we ſeldom hear of ſuch exalted characters. In the long reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, France produced but one Fenelon; and, he was diſgraced for his uprightneſs and integrity.

A young Prince is ſometimes placed under the tuition of a mere teacher of claſſical erudition. This doubtleſs has its uſes; but let thoſe whom it concerns to educate him, like a man who is to govern men, bear it conſtantly in their remembrance, that things, and not words, are the only objects of ſolid knowledge. The great Frederic of Pruſſia, knew perfectly but one language, beſides his own; and that language was a modern one.

A Prince is born to encourage learning of all kinds; but it is not required of him, that he ſhould be critically profound in any particular branch. For this reaſon a man who has ſeen and experienced much, and is poſſeſſed of extenſive knowledge in that ſpecies of erudition, with which a Prince ought to be beſt acquainted, ſuch

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as hiſtory, politics, and polite literature, is a far more valuable acquiſition to him, than another who may be completely verſed in all the languages, and ſciences of univerſities. The inutility of ſuch learning was ſtrikingly exemplified in our James the Firſt, and in Rodolphus, the ſecond Emperor of Germany of that name, who were cotemporaries: few Princes ever made a more inglorious figure; yet they had both been more carefully inſtructed than any others we read of, in every kind of academical knowledge, by the ableſt and moſt celebrated profeſſors of the time.

Men of this latter deſcription are highly reſpectable in their own province; but, unleſs a man has been an acting member of the world, and learned practically what paſſes in it, he is not certainly qualified to ſuperintend the education of any one, that is deſtined to figure in the buſieſt ſcenes of life.

Shall I go further, and add, that from motives, which cannot be too ſtrongly reprobated, the youth and inexperience of a Prince are devoted ſometimes to the furtherance of ſchemes, to which, when his eyes are opened by age and reflection, his happier genius has implanted in him an utter averſion.

Thus may a Prince be often obliged to break through long rooted prepoſſeſſions, and powerful

impediments, in order to diſplay his real character.

Struck by theſe conſiderations, and impelled by an invincible deſire of coming at the truth of things, I have ſought after the knowledge of men and manners, by mixing at large in the great world. This I conſidered as the only effectual method of ſhaking off the prejudices contracted by the confined education, uſually beſtowed on Princes, and of learning what otherwiſe will ever be carefully concealed from them by the circles that officially, and no leſs officiouſly ſurround them.

Seldom, however, are Princes ſo deſtitute of perception, as not to diſcover who are the moſt worthy of being truſted and employed. Lewis the Thirteenth of France, notwithſtanding the mediocrity of his abilities, made the moſt fortunate choice of a miniſter he could have fallen upon, in the critical circumſtances, wherein his kingdom was then ſituated: what redounded ſtill more both to his credit and intereſt, he had luckily the firmneſs to perſiſt in his choice, in oppoſition to every intrigue, and effort, that could poſſibly be contrived to ſhake his determination.

When we reflect that ſuch a Monarch as Lewis the thirteenth, had diſcernment enough to pitch upon ſuch a miniſter, as Cardinal Richelieu, we may

may congratulate ourſelves on the facility with which ſovereigns, if they be well inclined, may chuſe an able adminiſtration.

I will not therefore, in imitation of ſome Princes, who have diſgraced themſelves by their improper choice, complain of the inſurmountable obſtacles that bar my endeavours to fix upon individuals worthy of my confidence. If I fail in forming a judicious council, I feel myſelf bound to confeſs it will be my own fault.

The higheſt in popular eſteem and favour are evidently the only conſtitutional objects of my ſelection. While an Engliſh monarch obſerves this rule, he never can act amiſs. This is the infallible criterion by which to guide his determination in a matter that ſo nearly concerns him, as well as the public.

The confidence of the public is eſſential to an Engliſh adminiſtration. Let its meaſures appear ever ſo wiſe and upright, a monarch who values the peace of the nation, and his own ſafety, will readily part with a miniſtry that has loſt this confidence.

A miniſtry that governs in deſpite of public opinion, is unconſtitutional: it ſubverts that ſalutary law which ſays, the King can do no wrong. The meaning of which is only, that his council,

conſtitutionally choſen by him, is anſwerable for the meaſures he purſues through their advice.

But when his council is compoſed of members odious to his people, he then, by making ſuch a choice, aſſumes a ſhare of that odium. Thus it was that Charles the firſt deprived himſelf of the protection of that law. He deſtroyed the only means of its efficacy, by forming a miniſtry in open contradiction to the ſenſe of the public.

Nothing can be more weak and futile, than the allegations ſo often made in extenuation of the meaſures that brought ſuch calamities on the reign and perſon of Charles the firſt. The blame is laid upon his miniſters; and their ill-advice is accounted the cauſe of his misfortunes. But why did he chuſe ſuch miniſters? who, that is read in the tranſactions of thoſe unhappy times, can be ignorant that Charles was a man of excellent underſtanding, that he acted with his eyes open, that he perfectly knew the character and biaſs of all thoſe whom he took into his ſervice. He knew the ambition, and the haughtineſs, as well as the great abilities of Strafford; he knew as well the bigotry and perſecuting ſpirit of Laud, as he did his learning, his munificence, and his many other good qualities. But he knew alſo the temper of the times; he clearly beheld in what deteſtation

his

his two favourites were held; he muſt have foreſeen that the ſtorm which was gathering againſt them, was no leſs levelled at himſelf. With theſe proſpects before him, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be ſufficiently alarmed; he continued againſt every evidence of the perils awaiting him, to ſupport the raſh meaſures of theſe ill-judging miniſters, and could not fail to periſh together with them, in the ſame gulph that ſwallowed up the conſtitution; of which, through his obſtinacy, the ruin at laſt became inevitable.

True it is that his death was unjuſt and illegal. But it is equally true, that his unhappy fate was in a great meaſure owing to his own imprudence. With a noble and upright heart he erroneouſly ſought to gain the truſt of a ſuſpicious and turbulent people. He relied too preſumptuouſly on the juſtice of his intentions, and fondly hoped to ſubdue the ſpirit of the times, and compel ſubmiſſion to that authority, with which the crown had been ſo long inveſted. As he derived it from his predeceſſors, he certainly could not be blamed for viewing it as his legal prerogative; but how much more wiſely he would have acted, in deſiſting from it a a ſeaſon ſo tempeſtuous, and ſo unfavourable to his pretenſions.

Ha py, had he made thoſe conceſſions at firſt, of the propriety of which experience convinced

him

him at laſt. He would have ſuppreſſed all cauſes of diſcontent, and ſilenced all complaints; he would have ſecured the attachment of all thoſe, who, though enemies to oppreſſion, ſtill were ſtaunch friends to monarchy; he would have obviated the progreſs of that enthuſiaſm which perverted the mind of the multitude, and enabled the ill-intentioned to throw all things into confuſion; he would have preſerved the ſubſtantial power and dignity of the crown unimpaired, and would have parted with nothing that a King of England need be deſirous to retain.

What, indeed, to ſpeak that conſtitutional language which beſt becomes me, what can a Britiſh monarch aſpire at higher and more honourable than he already poſſeſſes? there is nothing noble, nothing grand in the ideas of royalty, which the laws have not intruſted to his care. He holds in his hands the balance of power between all orders of ſubjects. His only is the right of diſpenſing honours and remunerations, an inexhauſtible fund of might and influence. All eyes look up to him with expectation, and have nothing to apprehend from his authority. In ſhort, whatever is great and magnificent in the moſt arbitrary courts, is found in the palace of a Britiſh King. Nothing is wanting but that which renders them terrible and odious to their ſubjects.

In

In conſidering the diſparity between the ſeveral ſovereigns of Europe, I have often reflected with admiration upon the ſuperior maxims of ſafety, as well as of humanity, on which are fixed the foundations of the Britiſh throne. I will make no invidious compariſons; but in the preſent temper of my mind, (and while my reaſon laſts, my ideas cannot alter) I look with ſentiments of compaſſion on every Prince, who has no bounds preſcribed to him, but thoſe of his will and paſſions.

LUCUBRATION X.

FROM what cauſe can it proceed, that ſo diſcerning, ſo well diſpoſed, ſo inventive a people as the Engliſh, have been hitherto ſo backward in the inſtitution of thoſe rewards, that are not pecuniary, and that tend only to decorate without enriching an individual?

We live in an age, when rewards of this kind, are often the only comfort of men worn out in the ſervice of their country. To noble minds they are more acceptable than any others. They are in fact the moſt powerful incentives to men who thirſt after fame; and ſuch men only are the effectual ſupporters of the glory and intereſt of a nation in the day of need.

We

We are, it is true, a commercial, but I will alſo add, no leſs a ſpirited and warlike people. I even think that commerce is but an acceſſary to our character. The national diſpoſition has for centuries been much more remarkable for arms. The alacrity with which martial enterprizes are ever countenanced by the public, ſtrongly proves how congenial they are to the temper of the nation.

Far be it from me, to recommend a renewal of that fierce and contentious ſpirit, which involved us in perpetual feuds. Let us keep our courage for the enemies of our country, and not unhappily waſte it upon ourſelves, as in the days of yore.

Still, however, let us remember the neceſſity of reconciling an intrepid with an induſtrious mind. Let not wealth, by being held up as the ſole remuneration for valiant deeds, ſink all other rewards into diſrepute.

Politicians muſt clearly ſee, that an extinction of all ardour for glory, muſt become the ultimate reſult of a ſyſtem, which makes money alone the object of valour. Where lucre is not in proſpect, no man at laſt will feel the leaſt deſire to ſignaliſe himſelf.

Thus will a defect of honorary rewards, gradually teach men to value nothing but pelf; which alone

alone will be deemed a ſubſtantial recompence. This may become at length ſo fixed and deep-rooted an opinion, as not to be eradicated from the human breaſt. Hence all other remunerations will be held frivolous and illuſory; and nothing of that diſintereſted enthuſiaſm will remain which is the genuine ſource of real heroiſm, and has prompted the nobleſt deeds recorded in hiſtory.

Let us therefore obviate in time, ſo heavy a misfortune. Let it not be reproached to us, that we are ſo baſely immerſed in the love of riches, as to count them the only motive worthy of exciting men to exert their capacity or courage.

Foreign nations have ſet us laudable precedents in theſe reſpects. But the example of the ancient Romans, will appear perhaps to a free people, that juſtly conſiders itſelf worthy of being compared with them, a more powerful incentive to imitation.

I have often admired the peculiar policy of the Romans, in providing the nobleſt honours at the ſmalleſt coſt. They had, it is well known, a variety of military rewards; the impartial diſtribution of which, kept alive the flame of emulation, and was undoubtedly the true cauſe of their invincible bravery.

I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould not adopt many, if not moſt of their cuſtoms in thoſe inſtances;

the rather, as ſome of the Europeans have already done it to their great advantage. The French, our once reſpectable rivals, were the firſt on this occaſion, and have been ſucceſsfully followed by ſeveral others.

It has always been with ſingular ſatisfaction, that I have ſeen ſome of our moſt eminent naval and military characters, viſibly more elated with the decorations of the order with which they were inveſted, than with the affluence acquired by their ſucceſsful valour.

I will add that I have upon theſe occaſions, ſincerely wiſhed that this order were excluſively confined to the army and navy.

But as courage and extraordinary exertions ſhould be encouraged and rewarded in every ſtation, ought not another more extenſive inſtitution of the like nature to take place?

Let it not be ſaid, that by the multiplicity of theſe badges of honour, they would become cheap. Were they conferred only upon the deſerving, and were the public well certified of this, they would command reſpect every where, and prove of the higheſt utility to the wearer, in a variety of conſiderations.

In the warmth of my wiſhes to promote the welfare of ſuch men as have a claim to public notice, an object that I often contemplate with ſorrow,

ſorrow, is the abſolute denial of all regular proviſion to many individuals of diſtinguiſhed merit in very reſpectable callings. I have been at ſome pains to enquire into their ſituation, and how to render it more comfortable; and I rejoice to think that means may be found to effect this, notwithſtanding the ſuggeſtions of the unfeeling, or of ſuch as are baſely intereſted in oppoſing it.

Nothing, it ſeems, but honeſty and firmneſs are wanting to carry ſuch a meaſure into execution. Sufficient reſources may be diſcovered for this purpoſe in the funds appropriated to undeſerving objects, or waſted in ſuperfluous and uſeleſs purſuits: to ſay nothing of the far ſuperior treaſure that is laviſhed on purpoſes which muſt not be acknowledged, but which cannot be concealed.

Were the aggregate of the wealth conſumed in unwarrantable expences, to be collected into the coffers of an equitable economy, what a maſs of opulence would be found for the ſupply of every proper and well founded claim?

But then a Monarch muſt inexorably ſhut his ears to all but juſt demands. Diſproportionate and partial allowances are among the ſevereſt acts of oppreſſion, and neceſſarily fruſtrate the generous inclinations of a King. Hence the long ſtanding complaint, how abundantly ſome are provided for, and how ſcantily others, while at

the ſame time, the dues of merit are forgotten in the repartition, and doubtful or frivolous talents are placed on a level with the moſt ſubſtantial.

When I reflect how univerſal theſe complaints are in all countries, I cannot refrain from inwardly exclaiming, either the diſpenſators of national munificence are no judges of merit, or men are paid for having done that which deſerves another name, and is not fit to be mentioned in the catalogue of thoſe ſervices, for which they have a right to be rewarded.

LUCUBRATION XI.

WOE to the Prince that finds no man whom he dare truſt, or who will dare truſt him. His private life muſt be miſerable, and his public conduct, however intentionally pure, will always be attended with ſuſpicion.

But, what Prince, what man, can be confided in, who is known to miſtruſt every one about him? none but candid minds deſerve, or will meet with that communication of ſentiments, without which tranſactions of ſtate, like the buſineſs of civil life, can only be done by halves.

I have often been warned to beware of men of artifice and intrigue. Happily I am under no neceſſity of employing ſuch means for the deſigns I have

I have principally at heart; but in the beſt of my judgment, the poſſeſſors of ſuch qualifications, are the moſt uſeleſs of all men for the accompliſhment of any purſuits that are fit to be avowed.

It is in ſuch men as have no reſerves, and practice no diſſimulation, that I have always found moſt contentment and delight. When to this an improved and elegant mind is added, who can blame a Prince for preferring ſuch companions to thoſe who have no advantages to boaſt, for which they are indebted to themſelves? high birth and vaſt riches make no impreſſion on ingenuous minds. But wit, knowledge, experience, abilities, integrity, and engaging manners, are attractions which no man of ſenſe and refinement can reſiſt. It is by them alone that human nature is poliſhed and dignified. To feel their worth is a flattering proof to a Prince, that he is not unqualified for the ſtation in which he is placed, and wherein their aſſiſtance is ſo neceſſarily required.

I have been repeatedly told, that a Prince of my exalted deſtination, ſhould keep none but the moſt ſplendid company in the land. I fully acquieſce in the advice, provided it does not exclude the moſt entertaining and inſtructive part of ſociety. Perſons of that definition I have always accounted the moſt ſplendid of all company; but it is only by diveſting ourſelves of pride and ſuperciliouſneſs

that

that we are able to enjoy the pleaſures and advantages of ſuch company.

It remains to be decided where it is principally to be found. Is it from the great and opulent the moſt entertainment and inſtruction are to be obtained? is it not uſually, almoſt ever, from thoſe who baſk the leaſt in the ſun-ſhine of fortune? Bluſh, grandeur, bluſh! and confeſs, that exaltations merely titular, though neceſſary in the gradations of ſociety, have no right to interfere in the deciſion of perſonal worth of whatever denomination.

In the ſelection of his aſſociates, is a Prince leſs entitled to indulge his propenſity to decent chearfulneſs, than other men? But when he can unite feſtivity with edification, it is ſurely incumbent on him to give them conjointly the preference; ſince it is his duty to make every inſtant of his time ſubſervient, as much as poſſible, to the great ends of his ſtation. If therefore he can render his pleaſurable hours conducive to this intent, were he not highly blameable to neglect ſuch happy opportunities of furniſhing his mind with important information, at the ſame moment, and by the ſame means that afford it recreation?

When a young Prince is ſo fortunate, as to meet with men equally capable of entertaining and inſtructing him, how unwiſe and churliſh muſt his

diſpoſition

diſpoſition be, to refuſe ſo advantageous a proffer? how unexpert thoſe directors, who would adviſe him to keep ſuch men at a diſtance?

The fact is, that it is much more in the company of men, whoſe talents only have raiſed them to notice, than in the ſociety of men of great birth and affluence, that a Prince will become acquainted with the world. None are neceſſarily leſs converſant with the variety of characters that compoſe the bulk of mankind, than individuals of the latter deſcription. Immured, as it were, within the pale of their grandeur, and reſtrained from moving out of it by the haughtineſs in which they are ſo frequently bred, they enjoy a gloomy pre-eminence, undiſturbed by the freedom, which the leſs affected claſſes of the community carry with them into their ſocial meetings.

Far otherwiſe do men enjoy themſelves, who combine their feſtive powers, unfettered by the abſurd and ill-timed conſiderations of birth, rank, and wealth: wherever any of theſe three interfere, they ſpoil the beſt concerted ſchemes of feſtivity. It is only by forgetting, and while he forgets them, that a man inſures the happineſs he courts in the company of the lively and ſenſible part of mankind.

Why ſhould a Prince yet in the prime of life, and who hopes for a large interval of years be-

tween

tween him and his future exaltation, be debarred the moſt efficacious means of looking thoroughly into that world, of which the knowledge is ſo perpetually inculcated, as the ſureſt, as the only means of qualifying him to rule with credit to himſelf, and happineſs to the community?

Open all hiſtories; do they not preſent us every where, with ſtriking proofs, that the greateſt, the moſt fortunate, the beſt of Princes, were thoſe who had ſpent the fore-part of their lives in a familiar communication with people of all ranks? Charles the Fifth of Germany, and Henry the Fourth of France, to mention no others, were illuſtrious and ſingular precedents in this particular.

I look with no little anxiety on the day, whenever it may come, that will inveſt me with a rank ſuperior to that which I now poſſeſs. Pride is a curſe to which my ſoul is ſtill a ſtranger. Whenever I aſcend that throne, which thoſe who know me not, may ſuſpect that I view with longing eyes, I ſhall deeply regret the ſatisfaction I experience in being a ſubject myſelf, and in meeting my aſſociates on the cordial footing of fellow ſubjects.

England alone is the country where a Prince may ſpeak this language with propriety. In other Monarchies an Heir-apparent is too much viewed in the light of a future arbitrary maſter to be approached

proached without awe, and to be treated with the chearfulneſs of freedom: but he is only the firſt ſubject in this land of liberty; and enjoys, if he has a true reliſh for the beſt of all enjoyments, the ineſtimable pleaſure of commanding every rational delight, without the incumbrance of thoſe cares that environ ſupreme power: he feels, therefore, no deſire to arrive at it, if he preſerves a due ſenſe of the ſuperior felicity of his own condition.

LUCUBRATION XII.

WHICH are thoſe liberal arts, wherein a Prince may indulge himſelf with moſt propriety? I apprehend that no others have a right to be included in ſuch a queſtion.

I have often aſked myſelf this queſtion, as nothing ſhould be more explicitly clear to a Prince, than which of theſe it becomes him, moſt or leaſt, to honour with his patronage.

In a caſe of this nature, the leading purſuits of the age, unleſs recommended by their intrinſic worth, are totally unworthy of a royal mind. Leaving ſuch trivial conſiderations to the great and ſmall vulgar, he will not diſgrace himſelf by paying the leaſt attention to any, but the uſeful and noble arts, ſuch as illuſtrate a country and nation, and contribute to render it famous and formidable.

The principal erudition of a King ſhould conſiſt in moral and polite literature. They are the foundation of all that dignifies human nature. They form the underſtanding to ſolidity, to truth, to elegance, and prepare men for the right perception of propriety, and of taſte, in all their undertakings.

It is by the encouragement of ſuch arts, as poliſh and illuminate the mind, that the greateſt Princes have manifeſted the goodneſs of their underſtanding, and obtained the higheſt reputation. Even thoſe Monarchs, whoſe education has from untoward accidents, or from ſhameful connivance, been neglected, have, if otherwiſe endowed with good parts, perceived the neceſſity of acting in this manner. The celebrated Emperor Charlemain, and Lewis the Fourteenth of France, were, at very diſtant periods from each other, conſpicuous inſtances of this truth. The education of both had been extremely neglected; and they were of conſequence illiterate: yet through the happy force of their natural genius, they felt the merit of learning, and became the greateſt protectors of literary men, in their reſpective ages, of any Princes recorded in hiſtory.

Nothing affords me more exquiſite entertainment, than the peruſal of the long liſt of celebrated

brated names in ſciences and intellectual endowments, that have graced the annals of this nation. I feel myſelf ſincerely indebted to them, for the honour reſulting to it from their fame, and join with my countrymen, in ſentiments of gratitude, for the reputation I partake in common with them on that account.

Long may ſentiments of this kind remain impreſſed on the minds of Engliſhmen. They are the moſt powerful earneſt of a continuance of the genius, which they reverence and celebrate.

With what indignation have I ſometimes heard perſons who ought to have known better, expreſs a ſlight for the talents of thoſe men, whom every civiliſed nation is bound to revere, as the luminaries of mankind.

I am always deeply concerned, when I ſee individuals of great family and fortune, indifferent to this ſpecies of glory. Of what, I have ſaid to myſelf, would they be proud, unleſs of being the principal members of a community, that has produced characters of ſo much eminence? If ever pride may be tolerated, it is certainly for belonging to that body of which ſuch men form ſo illuſtrious a part.

It is a grating reflexion, that ſo many of thoſe who ought from every motive to cheriſh and promote an imitation of ſuch examples, ſhould beſtow

their time and admiration on purſuits, which, in compariſon of thoſe they neglect in this ignominious manner, merit ſurely no other epithet but that of ignoble and mean.

I will not dwell on particulars, the ſpecification of which might be offenſive, and would not, therefore, bring me any ſatisfaction. But I admoniſh my fellows in youth and gaiety, that I ſhall always rejoice, when I ſee them vying with each other, chiefly in thoſe accompliſhments, that ſhould diſtinguiſh men of high birth and importance from the vulgar, and laying aſide a fondneſs for thoſe attainments, wherein the meaneſt of the commonalty are uſually their ſucceſsful rivals.

But let them not miſunderſtand me. Manlineſs and courage are qualities indiſpenſible in an Engliſh gentleman. Whatever conduces to the formation of this character, I ſhall always prize. It is only the exceſſive attachment to thoſe employments and exerciſes, which occupy the body alone, wherein I would recommend a due ſhare of moderation.

Let thoſe ardent Engliſhmen, who entertain ſo marked a predilection for the ſports of the turf, or the field, be told, if they know it not, that with the ſame violence of inclination for the ſame objects, the Greeks and the Romans, whom we are

ſo

ſo proud to imitate, united an equal warmth in the nobler purſuit of mental qualifications.

With what ardour do we view the young men of Athens, of the moſt reſpectable families, and promiſing hopes, mixing by turns the moſt manly and athletic exerciſes, with the ſtricteſt attendance on the ſchools of their philoſophers?

With what aſſiduity did the noble youths of Rome, dedicate that remnant of their hours, which they could ſpare from an active and martial education, to the formation of their minds in every ſpecies of knowledge, neceſſary to make them ſhine in the ſenate and in the circles of erudition, as well as in the field.

But without quitting our own ſhores, what an inviting retroſpect do ſome periods of our hiſtory, the reign of Elizabeth, for inſtance, afford to an inquiſitive mind? What numbers of indivíduals in the prime of life, and of the moſt conſpicuous birth, were noted for their activity and proweſs, in the gallant recreations of thoſe days, and no leſs, at the ſame time, for their polite and literary endowments?

Such was the force of habit and education, that even when Elizabeth was no more, the ſame ſpirit continued a long time to actuate the Engliſh under her ſucceſſors. Hence the martial diſpoſition of our nobility even under the pacific James; hence

the ſoldier-like and hardy paſtimes of his better ſon, the illuſtrious Prince Henry; whoſe early virtues it is my peculiar duty to imitate, and whoſe untimely fate I have ſo often deplored; hence thoſe crowds of heroes that fell in the dreadful diſputes that enſanguined the unhappy reign of his Son Charles.

We juſtly admire in them a race of men, in whom elegance of manners, liberal acquirements, and the moſt ſtriking courage were blended with equal luſtre. They were, as far as my knowledge tells me, at the head of the nobility of all Europe.

With precedents of ſo attractive a nature, I flatter myſelf that nothing is wanting to rouze the emulation of the many deſcendants from them, that are ſtill exiſting among us, but a due recollection of the duty incumbent upon men of birth, to preſerve unſullied the reputation derived to them from their anceſtors.

In this alone am I able to diſcern the chief utility of hereditary honours. Good manners will always induce me to behave reſpectfully to perſons of eminent families. The conſtitution of this country, has juſtly aſſigned them a proportion of importance neceſſary to keep the balance of power between the different orders of the community in its proper poize. But excluſive of that function, how little do they advance the intereſts

of

of the public, when they degenerate as individuals?

For this reaſon, though I deteſt hypocriſy, my countenance and my thoughts are often at variance in the exterior deference, which diſcretion has preſcribed me the neceſſity of ſhewing to thoſe, who in the midſt of titles and ſplendor, are poor in all other pretenſions.

It would ill become me to act a ſevere part; but I would wiſh to inculcate in the ſtrongeſt terms, that I entertain a ſovereign contempt for all that merely glitters in the ſunſhine of fortune. It is my duty to ſeek for friends, for aſſociates, for adherents, from whom I can derive ſubſtantial, uncontroverted honour; and no attachment but that of men of real deſert can confer it.

Though from motives of pleaſure I indulge in the company of men of mirth, yet it is in the ſociety of men of abilities that I find myſelf chiefly intereſted. I then feel the ſuperior weight of ſolid worth; I feel the neceſſity of recurring to that alone for inſtruction, aſſiſtance, relief, in all caſes, in all difficulties. I feel how ſeriouſly it is required of me, to aim at every improvement appropriated to my ſtation. I feel a ſalutary ſhame in my deficiencies. I feel a ſecret determination to wipe off that ſtain, and to exert my whole

whole powers, in order to be outdone, if poſſible, by no man.

Theſe, I truſt, are feelings which a Prince may lawfully avow. Whatever can excite ſuch feelings, is a deſirable object; but who can call them forth with ſo much power and efficacy, as men of extraordinary merit?

To theſe principally, therefore, it is incumbent on me to devote my warmeſt attention. They are the moſt real benefactors to a Prince, and of courſe to a ſtate. Of all the ſayings of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, I value far the moſt that with which, on the reſignation of his dominions to his ſon Philip, he accompanied the recommendation of the celebrated Eraſo to be his Secretary; "eſteeming," to uſe his own words, "the abili-"ties of ſuch a man, a more precious acquiſition "to that young Prince, than the kingdoms of "which he had made him a donation."

LUCUBRATION XIII.

IT is recorded of the great Henry of France, that he took peculiar pleaſure in hearing eloquent and learned diſcourſes, and gave them every kind of encouragement, thoſe not excepted wherein matters of government were diſcuſſed with the utmoſt freedom of ſpeech.

If

If any particular proof were desired of the excellence of his disposition, and the magnanimity of his soul, this were a sufficient one.

Whenever a Prince countenances the study of oratory, in those great and capital branches that involve the administration of kingdoms, it can no longer be doubted, that he means to govern in such a manner, as to set the tongue of slander at defiance.

Were I born to inherit an absolute throne, such is the predilection I have conceived for eloquence, that unless my heart is unknown to me, I would not forego the exquisite entertainment it affords me, for the gloomy satisfaction of ruling without controul.

Hence I experience no enjoyment surpassing that of attending the debates of Parliament on subjects of material consequence. I deem it in truth a duty, personally to share in those scenes of instruction and solicitude, that render the days on which they happen so memorable and important.

Woe to that period, should it ever befal this country, when the minds of men become unsusceptible of the charms of eloquence. As it is the firmest foundation of laws and liberties, people cannot be deemed very anxious about these, when once they grow indifferent to that talent, which has ever proved their best friend and support.

No hiſtorical æra, that I can recollect, ſurpaſſes that one in the laſt century, which produced thoſe champions of the Conſtitution of England, whoſe diſcourſes we ſtill ſo juſtly admire. Neither need we compreſs our admiration within that period. Thoſe that have followed, down to the preſent day, abound with the choiceſt and nobleſt oratory. I feel what I hope may be termed a patriotic delight, in my perſuaſion that they altogether afford ſuch ſpecimens of eloquence, as were not exceeded by Greece and Rome in the days of their greateſt ſplendour.

As a Prince who conſults his real grandeur, will always deem it more eligible to reign over a nation of freemen, than over a nation of ſlaves, he will therefore pride himſelf in that elevation of mind which characteriſes men who are free. From that motive he will cheriſh whatever conduces to nouriſh ſuch a diſpoſition. Of conſequence, he will be a friend to eloquence; which, by calling forth all the powers of the ſoul, invigorates it beyond any other means.

In the various characters of men and nations, which my ſtation enables me to obſerve, the obſequiouſneſs, approaching to ſervility, which marks thoſe who are born in arbitrary ſtates, gives me a ſtriking picture of the degradation which attends the

the minds of men who are depreſt by unlimited power.

I have frequently remarked, that although ſhrewdneſs and wit were as much the concomitants of theſe men as of any others, yet they never ſoared to thoſe elevated thoughts and expreſſions, which ariſe from a total unreſtraint of the mental faculties.

Theſe muſt neceſſarily ſuffer a diminution, when their cultivation is only permitted to a certain degree. Men thus cramped in their education, may ſtill turn their exertions to the pleaſurable objects of life, and become highly entertaining: but, as pleaſure will at laſt ſurfeit, when it comes unaccompanied with edification, perſons of ſound underſtanding will gradually loſe their reliſh for the ſociety of thoſe who are only able to amuſe them.

This ſlavery of the underſtanding is the moſt humiliating circumſtance that liberal minds can experience under abſolute governments; of which the moſt ignominious grievance is, doubtleſs, the ſpiritleſs ſilence impoſed on thoſe men, whoſe reſolution and talents are dreaded by their ſuperiors in power, but inferiors in abilities.

The only conſequence of this reſtraint on the freedom of ſpeech, which may be thought ſalutary, is that foreigners, with few exceptions, are

much more under the guidance of circumſpection, than the natives of this country. Their countenances indeed are open; but their minds are cloſe, according to the precept which pervades the whole continent of Europe.

But long experience muſt have taught Engliſhmen, how much it is their intereſt to retain that openneſs of diſpoſition, which has hitherto characteriſed them ſo much to their honour and advantage. It is the nobleſt, as well as the moſt uſeful qualification by which they are known. The confidence repoſed in them, both in public and private tranſactions, ariſes principally from the perſuaſion, that they diſdain to wear a maſk upon their minds.

I am decidedly a foe to ſuch puſillanimous maxims, as tend to conceal us from each other. I cheriſh from my heart that fearleſſneſs of temper, which unlocks the ſoul, and ſets a man's character in full view. It is only from ſuch men that opinions and judgments can derive exiſtence. The thoughts of others are not their own; they either borrow them from thoſe whom they wiſh to pleaſe, or from thoſe whom they dare not offend.

Nothing therefore can be relied upon as the genuine ſentiments of ſuch individuals. To conſult

ſult them, is only to put their artifices inmotion, and to graſp at a mere phantom of advice.

All this is the infallible conſequence of the degradation, which awaits the minds of men in all countries, where the cultivation of true eloquence is diſcouraged by the ruling powers.

If I wiſh then to preſerve the peculiar privilege of an Engliſh Monarch, to preſide over men who dare approach him with truth upon their lips; let me, in order to merit a diſtinction, which is certainly more honourable to a King, than the ſubmiſſive ſilence of ſervile courtiers, or the hypocriſy of ſycophants, let me learn how to appreciate the ſplendor of ſuch a ſituation, by ſhewing the moſt extenſive countenance to every man, who poſſeſſes that nobleſt of all intellectual talents, eloquence, or in other words, truth and energy of thought, with dignity and forcibleneſs of expreſſion.

LUCUBRATION XIV.

THE earneſt wiſh I continually experience to promote the glory of my country, renders me of courſe the friend, and as far as I am able, the patron of genius and capacity. In the confidence I entertain, that perſons in flouriſhing circumſtances reſemble me in this particular, it becomes

a matter

a matter of no ſmall ſurpriſe to me, that any man of real ability ſhould be deſtitute of a protector.

The neglect of individuals of eminent parts is a ſtriking blemiſh in the character of a nation. It ſhews unfeelingneſs, ingratitude, and ignorance; for theſe are the cauſes that oppoſe the rewards of merit. May not one add another cauſe no leſs powerful? Envy in perſons conſcious of the ſuperiority of thoſe whom it is their duty to patronize; but whom they decline to bring forward, through the baſe apprehenſion of making their own inferiority too diſcernible?

Liberal knowledge and literature are of ſuch evident utility to the ſtate, and reflect ſo much honour on a nation, that it is no leſs a detriment than a ſcandal to the public, to ſuffer men of erudition and talents to remain either unrewarded or unemployed.

Deeply actuated by theſe juſt motives, I feel it the peculiar duty and intereſt of thoſe whom affluence empowers to be ſerviceable to the community, to extend a generous patronage to all who may deſerve it, either as profound ſcholars, or as men of rare and ſingular endowments. The latter eſpecially, as no regular proviſion has been made for them in this, or indeed in any country.

It ſo frequently happens that uncommon abilities ſtart up to notice without the aſſiſtance afforded

forded by the medium of univerſities, that unleſs the foſtering hand of private munificence interpoſes, men of the moſt uſeful and extraordinary talents periſh in obſcurity, and are totally loſt to the public.

As the regulated gradations of academical honours and remunerations, inſtituted in the various ſeminaries of learning throughout Europe, are uſually limited to thoſe only who have been educated there, it becomes the duty of public-ſpirited men, to ſupply this deficiency; which is of a very ſevere nature, from the natural earneſtneſs of every corporate body, to enjoy excluſively thoſe emoluments which it is able to monopoliſe. How many a man of parts and genius deſerving of the higheſt promotion, has languiſhed out his days in neglect and ſorrow, for not being poſſeſſed of a legal claim to thoſe preferments and privileges, appropriated through long preſcription, to thoſe alone who have had the good fortune of being educated at our univerſities!

Reflecting on the hardſhips to which many valuable members of ſociety are liable to be reduced, I have often revolved in my mind, how it were practicable to remedy ſo indiſputable an evil, as the want of due encouragement to individuals eminently meritorious by their liberal knowledge and literary qualifications.

Among

Among the hints and ideas that have been mentioned upon this ſubject, that which recommends to perſons of rank and fortune, the appointment of men of character and abilities, to the place of domeſtic ſecretaries, ſeems at once the moſt obvious and the moſt equally beneficial to both parties.

When I review the innumerable methods of expending money, and waſting the nobleſt incomes, that are daily employed by the great and the opulent in this country, I think an appropriation of ſo inconſiderable a portion of their annual revenue, as ſuch a ſcheme would require, an object beneath the conſideration of a man of birth and affluence.

Individuals of very extraordinary merit, have ſo often been trained up in the ſchool of adverſity, that little is wanting to ſatisfy their deſires. This indeed is the moſt ſalutary leſſon taught in that ſchool.

The great and wealthy need not therefore be alarmed at the expence they will incur on this occaſion. Much leſs than they often laviſh on the moſt frivolous pretexts, would ſatisfy a man of this deſcription.

But let them at the ſame time, duly weigh the benefits that would reſult to them from ſuch a connexion. Perſons of education and abilities are

uſually

uſually of decent extraction, and reſpectable manners. It frequently happens too, that through fortunate incidents they poſſeſs all the accompliſhments of a man of rank, and only want his fortune to ſet their talents in the moſt conſpicuous view.

Individuals thus qualified are ſurely a moſt valuable acquiſition to men in high ſtations; who cannot fail to profit in many reſpects, from the company and attachment of thoſe who come recommended to them on the united account of parts and probity.

A great ſtation in ſociety needs, I can tell it by experience, a continual monitor. It is principally to thoſe of my age, I now addreſs myſelf. They cannot too much prize a man, who ſhould have honeſty enough to unfold his mind to them, upon thoſe critical emergencies, to which they are ſo perpetually liable. For when ſuch a man as I have deſcribed, is admitted on the honourable footing that is recommended, I cannot help flattering myſelf, that by the diſcretion of his conduct, and the uprightneſs of his mind, he would ſoon be found no leſs worthy of being truſted as a friend, than employed as a uſeful aſſiſtant.

But ſhould he be conſidered in this light alone, infinite are the advantages of having conſtantly at one's elbow, a man of knowledge and experi-

ence in ſuch affairs, as moſtly occur to be tranſacted by men of diſtinction.

Such a companion muſt ever be acceptable to an ingenuous mind, glad to receive information, and above the littleneſſes, that ſo generally render people of ſlender capacity, and great pride, averſe to act under proper direction.

I am not to learn, that jealouſy enters more deeply into our ſouls, than many of us are aware of, or willing to confeſs. It often happens, that great men, as they are ſtiled, remain long ignorant of ſuch things as they might have known with facility, had they condeſcended to accept of ſuch an inſtructor as I have here propoſed. But arrogance is ſo incurable a malady in ſome conſtitutions, that individuals had rather expoſe themſelves to the ſneers of ſociety, by their deficiencies in thoſe attainments which it is unpardonable in them to want, than apply to any method of cure, which may occaſionally ſubject them to any ſort of reprehenſion.

The imperfectneſs of education, ſo often obſervable in perſons of the firſt rank, both in England and every part of Europe, has been frequently attributed to the want of ſuch an inſtitution as I have here touched upon. In other countries doubtleſs ſuch a deficiency might be leſs detrimental; but it is unpardonable in a free ſtate like

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ours; where men are liable daily to be called upon to make their appearance before an enlightened public, which has a right to expect that they have neglected no means to qualify themſelves for ſuch an honour.

LUCUBRATION XV.

IN the periods of the laſt century preceding the revolution, the axiom principally inculcated by the popular party, was that a King of England ſhould, previous to any meaſure he might have in view, aſk himſelf the queſtion, What will a Parliament think of it?

At this day the queſtion goes a far greater length: it embraces the whole community. The Engliſh nation, at large, has now attained to a degree of knowledge and diſcernment, that has no precedent in hiſtory. It is the judge paramount of its Kings, of its Parliaments, of all that falls under the cognizance of Government and Legiſlation.

The *Populum late Regem*, belongs to the Engliſh in a much more honourable ſenſe than it did to the Romans. Theſe indeed were a nation of conquerors; but while they acted the part of tyrants and oppreſſors abroad, they were the moſt wretched of ſlaves at home.

Neither the Greeks, nor the Romans, entertained adequate notions, in what true liberty conſiſted. They were both a narrow-minded and ſelfiſh race, concentring that bleſſing to as few individuals, as they could with any convenience or plauſibility reſtrict it. It was reſerved for the Engliſh, to endow the very country they inhabit with the power of conferring freedom. Whoever ſets his foot upon Engliſh ground, becomes from that inſtant free.

I do not wonder that a people, whoſe ideas of liberty are ſo generous and ſublime, ſhould have gone ſuch aſtoniſhing lengths to ſupport it. But how much more muſt I revere a people, who in the midſt of their triumphs in aſſerting that noble cauſe, could ſet bounds to their enthuſiaſm, and from the confuſion of civil diſcords educe the moſt orderly and beneficent ſyſtem yet hit upon in theory, and realiſed at the ſame time in practice.

Here it is that I glory in the character of a nation in whom reaſon could ſo wonderfully, and in ſo unexampled a manner, bid paſſion to ſubſide. When the nations of antiquity drew their ſwords in domeſtic contentions, the ſlaughter of fellow citizens was but a prelude to the deſtruction of the very government. Their rancour was equally levelled at perſons and meaſures; and vindictiveneſs

dictiveneſs in the extreme marked all their proceedings.

But ſanguinary and deſtructive, as the conteſts of Engliſhmen have been, their conſtitution ſtill ſubſiſts; and has in fact acquired new vigour and improvement from every quarrel, in which the affairs of government have involved them.

The civil feuds in the laſt century, rather ſuſpended than deſtroyed the conſtitution. The fate of the unhappy Charles taught his ſubjects a leſſon, which they ſoon made it manifeſt they would never forget, that Monarchy well underſtood is the guardian of liberty.

Hence, notwithſtanding the provocations of a Monarch, who was an undoubted penſioner to their greateſt enemy, they contented themſelves with watching his motions; and though the intolerable attempts of his ſucceſſor, obliged them, for their own ſafety, to expel him, they carefully preſerved untouched and unimpaired the rights of that Crown, of which he had rendered himſelf unworthy.

This was diſplaying what one may truly call a conſtitutional ſpirit of moderation. It ſhewed that they were above that blind reſentment, which, in its ungovernable fury, lays men together in one common ruin with the ſtate itſelf, and ſo often

wreaks

wreaks its pitiful vengeance on the latter, for the errors or miſdeeds of the former.

A people that could act with ſo much diſcretion, as well as with ſo much firmneſs, deſerved every political felicity to which ſuch a conduct was entitled. Deſtiny has favoured them accordingly in a conſpicuous manner. They have ſucceſsfully made their way through a variety of critical periods, and have riſen ſuperior to the ſevereſt trial that ever put a nation's courage and capacity to the teſt. Alone, unbefriended, aſſaulted on every ſide, they overcame the greateſt and moſt dangerous confederacy that ever was formed againſt a ſtate, and proved an over-match for all the powers of Europe, openly or clandeſtinely combined againſt them.

Of ſuch a nation what prudent Monarch would not ardently covet the eſteem? but in order to obtain it, let him firſt learn, unfeignedly to reſpect ſuch a nation.

He will then revere the maxims which it cheriſhes, and chearfully coincide with the temper and notions which they inculcate. This is the true ground-work of patriotiſm in a King of England.

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LUCUBRATION XVI.

OF all thoſe vices which bring diſgrace on royalty, none is more odious than ingratitude, nor more pernicious in its conſequences both to a King and to his ſubjects.

Such a diſpoſition in a Prince proves two lamentable defects; want of real ſolicitude for the welfare of the ſtate, and ignorance of the moſt efficacious inſtrument of power.

Ingratitude implies not only a baſe and callous ſoul, but ill policy. While the latter expoſes a Prince to contempt, the former renders him ſtill more an object of hatred.

In ſo opulent a country as England, it is much more ſcandalous and criminal to diſregard complaints of neglect, than in any other. It is here eſpecially that no man who deſerves well of the public, ſhould be ſuffered to have the leaſt cauſe to lift up his voice in judgment againſt it.

To wait for ſuch an admonition from the aggrieved, is the more ſhameful, as the evil complained of falls uſually upon the moſt meritorious of them who are chiefly liable to experience it; the modeſt, the unpreſuming in thoſe claſſes, of which we ſtand in perpetual need for the defence and honour of the kingdom.

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To ſee perſons of this deſcription, after long and painful ſervices, reduced to ſtraits, is equally diſgraceful and aſtoniſhing in a country that prides itſelf ſo peculiarly in the valour of thoſe brave men to whom it is ſo frequently obliged to have recourſe.

I ſpeak not here of the maimed or the ſuperannuated of the loweſt rank; the proviſion allotted to them, however ſcanty, yet is, through the chearful contentedneſs with which they manage it, rendered ſufficient for the purpoſes of exiſtence.

Were it practicable, however, to better the condition of theſe humble but meritorious veterans, as well as of the more conſpicuous of thoſe who have toiled and bled for their country, it were ſurely a deed of equal juſtice and humanity.

Nothing can employ more becomingly the leiſure of a Prince that has ſuch laudable objects in view, than the recital of thoſe exploits that have been performed under his auſpices, and added glory to his reign. When he duly reflects how much his memory will be indebted to the exertions of ſuch men, he will not only derive pleaſure from the account of their actions, but he will at the ſame time conſider it as a remembrancer of his obligations to them, and feel thoſe ſentiments of gratitude, which are the nobleſt proof that he has the ſoul of a king.

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Greenwich and Chelſea, for that reaſon, are places to which a Prince ſhould be no ſtranger. I do not mean that his appearance there ſhould be formal;—no, but he ſhould ſometimes viſit them, diveſted of every mark of his dignity. It is only in the happy concealment of his rank, that he can view them in thoſe colours, in which it beſt behoves him to diſcern them, and in which they are beſt arrayed.

To a generous, a ſympathiſing, a patriotic boſom, what can be more acceptable than the artleſs, yet ſpirited tale of the worn-out ſailor, or ſoldier, ſolacing the evening of his days with the ſtory of his former adventures, his well-fought battles, his hard-earned victories, his hair-breadth eſcapes, the heroes under whom he ſerved, the enemies whom he conquered?

The ſpirit of patriotiſm glows with the recollection of the delight which is felt on ſuch occaſions. Let me intreat thoſe noble youths who are the partners of my years and gaieties, to beſtow ſome of their thoughts on this ſubject. Let them not diſdain to be ſometimes ſeen in theſe retreats of the aged, the infirm, the mutilated brave men, who have contributed, while they were able, to the ſupport of the ſtate; whoſe beſt blood has been ſpilt, whoſe beſt years have been waſted in its ſervice. Let them recollect the ſlender pittance of

theſe venerable remains of former fleets and armies; and then ſeriouſly aſk themſelves, whether in the midſt of profuſeneſs and diſſipation, they do not think themſelves bound to curtail ſome part of their laviſhneſs, in favour of theſe old, theſe helpleſs, theſe reſpectable victims of the honour of their country?

We paſs over too ſlightly a world of conſiderations that offer themſelves on ſuch occaſions. A thinking man will certainly find in theſe renowned repoſitories of warriors, a fund of reflections that muſt awaken every ſentiment of patriotiſm, as well as of humanity.

What numbers above the inferior liſts of the military and naval departments, can hardly be deemed above the reach of want?

While the lower denominations of both theſe claſſes may be reputed ſufficiently conſidered, in reference to their original ſtations and views in life, can the ſame be ſtrictly ſaid of thoſe in ſuperior ſituations?

Born and bred to flattering proſpects, what a mortification muſt it prove to the gallant officer, to ſee himſelf in the decline of his days, confined to a penurious and ſordid ſtile of living, and conſtrained to eke out by the moſt pinching economy the means of a poor and uncomfortable exiſtence!

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I feel not that pride in my birth and country, which I ſhould otherwiſe indulge, when I am inſtructed, as too often I am, in thoſe tales of woe that deſcribe objects of this nature.

When I ſurvey the environs of this immenſe metropolis, this depoſitory of half the treaſures of Europe, what generous foundations meet every where my ſight, for thoſe whom years have debilitated, and misfortunes overtaken in the various buſineſſes and callings that employ the activity of the commercial and the induſtrious claſſes!

They are provided for, it will be alledged, according to the ſtations they held in ſociety. I admit the juſtneſs of the allegation, and revere thoſe ſentiments that ſuggeſted the propriety of ſuch eſtabliſhments.

But may I not alſo inquire into the motives that ſtint within ſuch narrow bounds, the liberality due to ſo many deſerving ſervants of the public, and render it ſo inconſiderable and ſcanty, in compariſon of that plentiful allowance, which awaits men who have only toiled unſucceſsfully for themſelves?

It is too common an apology, that the public cannot reward adequately every man that puts in his claim, however juſtly founded.

But the fact is, that the ſpirit of indolence, of neglect, of ſelfiſhneſs, of partiality, is a canker

that preys upon every munificent inſtitution. As from the number and artifice of thoſe who ſhare in the guilt, it ſtands in little fear of puniſhment, or even of detection; it ſilently pervades every eſtabliſhment of this nature, and diverts it without remorſe into a variety of ignominious uſes.

But of all thoſe enormities that diſgrace the government of nations, none cries more loudly for redreſs, than the oblivion and ill-treatment, to which men of the moſt illuſtrious eminence have ſo often been condemned in all ages and countries.

When caſting an eye on the numerous paſſages of this kind that occur ſo offenſively in our reading, we behold, for inſtance, a Scipio haraſſed in his latter days by litigations ſet on foot through the treacherous arts of perſons envious of his glory, and meanly countenanced by his ungrateful fellow citizens, who can refrain in the reſentment of his ſoul, from almoſt wiſhing that Scipio had nobly fallen in the plains of Zama, that the Romans had been defeated, and that Hannibal had again carried war and devaſtation to the gates of Rome?

When we recollect that memorable twelfth of April during the laſt perilous war, which put a deciſive period to the ſucceſſes of our enemies, by a moſt important and critical victory, and fortunately diſſipated thoſe dangers that were impend-

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ing over the Britiſh empire, who can refuſe the tribute of ſorrow for the mortifications experienced in the laſt ſtages of life, by the hero of that auſpicious day, in the midſt of a people reſcued through his valour from the moſt alarming ſituation?

Were the genius of the Britiſh nation, a being that could with propriety be perſonified, with what ardour would I implore his forgiveneſs for the delinquencies, of which we have occaſionally been guilty in theſe reſpects! with what warmth would I petition him to fill my heart with gratitude to thoſe gallant ſpirits, by whoſe atchievements the name of this country has been exalted throughout the univerſe!

Though remuneration is a debt which Princes ought moſt faithfully to diſcharge, the misfortune is, that they are too apt to conſider it as a favour beſtowed, and expect accordingly that men ſhall view it in the ſame light. But is ſuch an idea reconcileable to equity? Is not a great ſoul conſcious of its own worth, and will it not juſtly challenge a retribution for ſervices done? To ſay that true patriotiſm requires no reward, is a poſition laid down, one may rightly ſuſpect, by thoſe who having no merit, nor talents of public utility, can therefore claim no recommendation from ſuch motives.

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One would conclude from the conduct of ſome nations, that they looked upon patriotiſm as a virtue of ſo invincible a reſolution, that no injuries could ſhake the fidelity of a man to his country; and that ſooner than become inſtrumental to its detriment, he would, like Themiſtocles of old, in ſpite of all ſolicitation and proſpect of rewards, put a period to his own exiſtence.

But it is principally in caſes of neglect and ill-uſage, that the impolicy, as well as the iniquity of nations, and of their rulers, have been proved to their coſt. It was by ſuperciliouſly refuſing to take due notice of the abilities of Prince Eugene, that Lewis the fourteenth drove into the ſervice of his enemies, a man who became one of the moſt terrible inſtruments of their vengeance.

In our own days, the great Frederic of Pruſſia deprived himſelf in like manner of the celebrated Laudhon; and long had woeful cauſe to repent of the error he had ſo unfortunately committed.

Let us reflect that reſentment is a paſſion to which the nobleſt minds are often the moſt ſubject; that heroes impelled by harſh treatment have turned their ſwords againſt their ungrateful countrymen, and that numbers even of the mild and moderate, have with ſilent rancour withdrawn themſelves from the ſervice of a ſtate, that either knew

knew not, or would not pay a due acknowledgement to their ſuperior merit.

Hiſtory teems, in a manner, with examples of the ſevere puniſhment which men have drawn upon themſelves, by the denial of remuneration to thoſe who had purchaſed it by their exertions, or of employment to thoſe who deſerved it by their talents.

The homage owing to perſons of eminence, is a debt which thoſe only can feel a repugnance to pay, who are conſcious of poſſeſſing no claim to eſteem. I owe to fortune the chance of becoming one day a King; but how ill I ſhould befit ſuch a calling, were I not continually to bear in mind, that it is by reſpecting and employing none but men of worth and talents, a monarch deſcends to poſterity with honour.

Such are the ſenſations I have long felt, in ſurveying thoſe various ſcenes of men and things, that ſeemed moſt peculiarly to require my attention.

It behoves me, if I wiſh to appear in that light which becomes the relation between me, and, though a generous, yet alſo a ſevere public, when juſtly incenſed, it behoves me to diſcloſe my ſentiments on the ſubjects that have paſſed before me, and to let the world ſee, that I view them as every friend to the happineſs of ſociety ought to do.

I ſtand

I ſtand, as it were, on the threſhold of royalty; the eyes of a mighty nation encompaſs me. Willing to caſt the veil of oblivion upon juvenile failings, it now calls for the balance, in order to weigh its expectations againſt its fears. It is the duty of Kings to grace the annals of nations, and a people whoſe paſſion for glory is ſo ſtrong as that of my countrymen, have a right to be ſolicitous, whether they will find in me thoſe qualities that will enable me to ſit on their throne with reputation and dignity.

In the modeſt hope that I may not prove unworthy of the favourable opinion which they may be inclined to entertain of my character, I ſhall now, that I am entered into maturer years, review the paſt ſeaſon of my life, in order to correct its errors, and efface by a conduct which may prove acceptable to them, the remembrance of what has been reprehenſible in youth.

FINIS.